

Discordant Voices: The Influence of Ideology and Context on the Perceptions of Franciscan and Dominican Friars in the Thirteenth Century Concerning Islam and Muslims

by

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Introduction

In the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA, President George W. Bush called for a global crusade, a war on terrorism.¹ Whether Bush intended to or not, with that one word, “crusade”, he polarised the international community by alluding to events which occurred more than seven centuries ago.² The response is testament to the lasting impact that this period of Christian-Muslims relations has had on the collective imaginations of societies on both sides of the conflict. It also highlights the contemporary relevance of study in this area. However, this thesis is not principally about the crusades, but concerns a group whose work was inextricably linked to them and their legacy. It examines the perceptions of thirteenth-century Dominican and Franciscan friars concerning Islam and Muslims,³ in particular the extent to which their perceptions demonstrate the existence of a normative ideology influenced by the needs of crusading. It also explores the relationship between the individual context of each author and similarities and differences between their respective perceptions.

In an account of the historiography of “Western” views of the “East”, David Blanks comments on the difficulties scholars have had in understanding Western views of Islam

¹ George W. Bush, 'Remarks by the President Upon Arrival', <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>, accessed 24 July 2014.

² For examples of the responses which were elicited at the time see: James Carroll, 'The Bush Crusade', in *The Nation*, at <http://www.thenation.com/article/bush-crusade#>, accessed 25 August 2014; Peter Ford, 'Europe Cringes at Bush 'Crusade' Against Terrorists', in *The Christian Science Monitor*, at <http://www.csmonitor.com/2001/0919/p12s2-woeu.html>, accessed 4 August 2014; and M. A. Muqtedar, 'George Bush's Global Crusade', in *GlocalEye*, at <http://www.glocaleye.org/crusade.htm>, accessed 4 August 2014.

³ I deliberately use the terms “Islam” and “Muslims” as separate points of reference to differentiate, where possible, between the attitudes and beliefs of authors concerning Islam as a religion and those concerning followers of the faith as people or members of a particular cultural or ethnic group. Robert Bartlett asserts that ethnicity was generally defined by medieval writers in terms of cultural differences rather than descent or somatic features, a view supported by James Muldoon. However, citing the work of Jeffrey Cohen, Kim Phillips questions whether somatic difference may have played a greater role. See: James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550* (Liverpool, 1979), p. 160; Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), pp. 47, 53; and Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia, 2014), p. 175. It should also be noted that commonly applied terms for Muslims during the Middle Ages included “Saracens” and “Agarenes”. Such terms originally related to what were thought to be the decent lines of Arabs, but eventually conflated ethnic origin and religious belief. As will become evident in this thesis, it was the latter that became the basis of denigration of people included in these groups: Norman Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), pp. 196, 205-206.

‘when we have long misunderstood the medieval mind on its own terms’.⁴ He notes that despite some interest in the subject in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was not until after World War I that a more tolerant approach emerged, and not until after World War II that it began to develop into a specific field of study.⁵ Norman Daniel and Richard Southern each produced works on the subject in the early 1960s, the comprehensiveness of which had yet to be surpassed by the late 1990s.⁶

Daniel in *Islam and the West: The Making of An Image* concluded that a ‘deformed image of Islam’ developed between the twelfth and mid-fourteenth centuries, helping establish a ‘canon of what....Muslims believe and do’ that became the basis for an integrated European view that survived until the modern period.⁷ However, as observed by Blanks, while Daniel’s attention to the sources is exemplary, his work lacks context, in particular an understanding of a medieval mentality.⁸ He also advances little explanation of why medieval Christian writers portrayed Islam as they did.⁹ While Southern in *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* demonstrated greater sensitivity to medieval culture, like Daniel he sought to define dominant views of Islam during the Middle Ages.¹⁰ But rather than continuity, Southern saw progressive change in attitudes between the eighth and the mid-fifteenth centuries.¹¹ In particular, he characterised the thirteenth century as a period in which there was a more critical appraisal of Islam, and of hopes and fears which shaped Western Christian perceptions of the rival religion.¹²

⁴ David R. Blanks, ‘Western Views of Islam in the Pre-Modern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches’, in David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1999), p. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 18-19. See also R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 1-2.

⁶ Blanks, ‘Western Views of Islam’, pp. 23-24.

⁷ Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 3, 8.

⁸ Blanks, ‘Western Views of Islam’, p. 27. Blanks believes that the detail provided on medieval sources and bibliographies makes Daniel’s *Islam and the West* an ‘indispensable’ resource for historians: *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁹ As noted by John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), pp. xvi-xvii.

¹⁰ Blanks, ‘Western Views of Islam’, p. 30. Both authors also possessed clearly stated ideological perspectives which reflected common concerns of the period. See: Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 8, 301-307; and Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 2-3.

¹¹ Blanks, ‘Western Views of Islam’, pp. 29-30. See also Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 13-14, 34, 44-45, 67-68.

¹² Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 34-66, esp. 34, 44.

Interest in the field continued to grow, but studies became increasingly fragmented.¹³ In 2002 John Tolan published his influential book, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval Imagination* by which he attempted to fill a gap left by other studies.¹⁴ Tolan identifies a variety of Christian images of the Muslim world that are often, but not always, hostile, that developed during the thirteenth century.¹⁵ He argues, like Daniel, that from these images fundamental perceptions of Islam and its adherents were established that persisted, in one form or another, into the twentieth century.¹⁶ Aside from these three works, the focus of most scholarship has been on detailed studies of specific aspects of Western European views of Islam in the Middle Ages. While the work of thirteenth-century Dominican and Franciscan writers has been extensively studied, the authors are generally examined either as individuals or within a wider chronological and thematic context.

One of the major reasons why Dominicans and Franciscans feature so prominently in studies of Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle Ages is due to the fact they were intimately involved with the crusading movement from the early years of the establishment of their orders in the thirteenth century,¹⁷ a movement which itself played an important role in shaping key political, social and cultural developments in Western European societies during the period.¹⁸

¹³ Blanks, 'Western Views of Islam', p. 13; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xvi.

¹⁴ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xvi. In particular, Tolan wished 'to examine how and why medieval Christians portrayed Islam', *ibid.* Some of the themes discussed by Tolan in *Saracens* are expanded upon in a collection of his essays in his later book *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008). For a useful review of *Saracens* that provides a number of interesting observations on issues that the reviewer believes that Tolan failed to adequately address, see Tomaž Mastnak, 'A Review of *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* by John V. Tolan', *Speculum*, 79 (2004), pp. 568-571.

¹⁵ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. xx-xxii, 281.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁷ Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), p. 138; Philip K. Hitti, 'The Impact of the Crusades on Moslem Lands', in N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. V: The impact of the Crusades on the Near East (Madison, 1985), p. 52; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 161-162; Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 7-8, 12; Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), pp. 187-188; Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2013), p. 454.

¹⁸ Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 308; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xviii; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 142-146; Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 23.

Of particular interest for the purposes of this thesis, in a 2007 article Norman Housley claims that crusading 'made a substantial and distinctive contribution' toward the deterioration of relations between Christianity and Islam in the Middle Ages.¹⁹ According to Housley, the papacy was placed in a position of 'normative antagonism' toward Islam as a result of the military needs of the crusader states; the need to motivate people to participate in crusade and the creation of an "image of the enemy" 'shaped a dominant picture of Islam, its founder, and adherents that was inaccurate, stereotypical, and lacking in humanity'.²⁰ Housley states that while crusading ideology did vary, there existed a set of core beliefs about Islam comprising three main tenets: a military perspective associated with the threat posed by Islamic rulers; a standard characterisation of Islam and its exponents; and the situation of Islam with respect to Christian eschatology.²¹ He asserts that Western Christians who engaged with Islam only 'did so from a resolutely Euro-centric viewpoint and formed judgements that were overall hostile'.²² However, Olivia Constable has more recently observed that scholars remain divided on the issue of the respective attitudes of Western Christians and Muslims to each other in the Middle Ages. While there is general agreement that attitudes and relations varied by time and place, there is no consensus about an overall interpretation.²³ Nevertheless, as discussed below, I use Housley's argument as a framework to assess the perceptions and responses concerning Islam and Muslims of mendicant friars during the thirteenth century.

While broad surveys help elucidate dominant perspectives and trends, they also have an unavoidable tendency toward generalisation. Daniel König observes that 'generalization and a very selective approach to the sources' can produce stereotypes which can create a 'decisively bipolar world view'.²⁴ Jo Ann Moran Cruz also highlights a 'universalizing

¹⁹ Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 189.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 194.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199. The details of the three tenets are discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²³ Olivia Remie Constable, 'Muslims in Medieval Europe', in Carol Lansing and Edward D. English, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval World* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 313-332.

²⁴ Daniel G. König, 'Muslim Perception(s) of "Latin Christianity": Methodological Reflections and a Reevaluation', *Comparativ: Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und Vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung*, 20 (2010), pp. 20-21. While König's comment was specifically in relation to the study of medieval Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity, his observations are equally applicable to studies of Latin Christian perceptions of Islam and Muslims. He stresses that neither the Arabic-Islamic nor the Latin-Christian

tendency' that has been problematic in studies of medieval European views of Islam.²⁵ On the other hand, more specific studies may overlook important macro-historical relationships. Furthermore, the issue of context continues to be of concern to scholars working in the field. Recent studies have emphasised the importance of supplementing textual analysis with an understanding of the factors which may have influenced the perceptions of an author generally, and in relation to the topic of the work they were composing.²⁶

In the context of a related area, the study of medieval Muslim perceptions of Western Christianity, König has proposed the use of a methodology that seeks to bridge the gap between detailed contextual analysis at the individual level and broader surveys in order to overcome the problems of generalisation and stereotyping.²⁷ König's methodology is based on the comparison of variants. By juxtaposing the narratives and associated perspectives of subjects with similar "functional roles", König suggests that it is possible to identify the differing contexts and context-dependent relationships that facilitate different variants of perception. I have applied König's approach to examine the perceptions of Islam and Muslims by a group of contemporaneous Christian authors of similar vocation. As far as I can ascertain, a comparative study of the kind which is the subject of this thesis has not previously been undertaken. Through undertaking this study I seek to obtain a more "granular" macro-historical perspective on the perceptions concerning Islam and Muslims of members of these two important and ostensibly religiously orthodox orders, and identify the relative influence of ideology and contextual factors in shaping their perceptions.

worlds were homogenous and static, and 'prevalent perception patterns necessarily evolved all the time': *ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁵ Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam in Medieval Europe', in David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1999), pp. 55-56.

²⁶ See, for example: Sarah Lamm, 'Muslims and Jews in Exempla Collections: A Case Study on Stephen of Bourbon's *Tractatus de materiis praedicabilibus*', *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 21 (2009), pp. 301-302; Robin Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York, 2009), p. 5; König, 'Muslim Perception', pp. 23-30. See also Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 280-281: Tolan also stresses the importance of understanding specific contexts in which medieval authors composed their work. He highlights that one of his goals was to examine the various writings that he used by 'placing them in their particular (and multiple) contexts, rather than on a time line'.

²⁷ König, 'Muslim Perception', pp. 21-30, esp. pp. 27-28.

The key authors I examine are: the Dominican friars Humbert of Romans and Riccoldo da Montecroce; the Franciscan friars Roger Bacon and Gilbert of Tournai; and the Franciscan tertiary Ramon Llull.²⁸ The principal texts which are considered were all written during the second-half of the thirteenth century. For the reasons discussed above, I devote considerable attention to contextualising the authors and their works as background for subsequent analysis. This contextualisation is undertaken at two levels. Chapter 1 provides a macro-level survey of relevant social, cultural and political developments during the thirteenth century, and concludes with an examination of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. The focus of Chapter 2 is on the authors and their works. The chapter provides biographical details on each author, and discusses the nature of the principal texts, their relationship with the author's wider corpus and with the work of contemporaries, and issues and events which framed their production.

Chapter 3 identifies and analyses the perceptions of each author concerning Islam and Muslims through review of the selected texts. The analysis is framed by reference to the three core beliefs concerning Islam claimed by Housley, and one further theme that arises in the work of several authors that concerns their attitudes toward Arab-Muslim philosophers. The analysis undertaken in this chapter enables an assessment to be made of the extent to which the proposed core beliefs were assimilated by the authors, and is used in Chapter 4 to explore contextual factors which may have influenced similarities and differences between their respective perceptions.

It is hoped that this study provides scholars with new insights into the perceptions concerning Islam and Muslims of members of two socially important and influential religious groups in the thirteenth century, and helps reinforce the view that medieval people perceived both in a variety of ways. In particular, it will reveal the profound influence that engagement with Arab-Muslim culture had on the perceptions of mendicant friars in the thirteenth century. The study also demonstrates the value of an alternative approach to the examination of Christian-Muslim relations that addresses problems of extremes of fragmentation and generalisation which appear to be problematic in this field of study.

²⁸ It is unclear whether Llull formally joined the Franciscan Order. See the section on Llull in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

1. The Political, Social and Cultural Context

As noted in the Introduction, crusading played an important role in influencing many of the important developments in Western Europe during the thirteenth century, and became a dominant feature of Western Christian society.¹ Crusade also contributed to a significant geographic expansion of Latin Christendom.² However, after gains made following the First Crusade (1096-1099), the Western Christians suffered a long series of setbacks beginning with the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and then the failure of the Third Crusade (1189-1192) to recapture it.³ The Fourth Crusade, launched by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) in 1202 as an 'apocalyptic struggle' against the evil of Islam,⁴ failed to reach Jerusalem, and a fifth crusade launched in 1213 was finally defeated in 1221.⁵ Jerusalem was not regained until 1229, and only then as a result of a controversial agreement between the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, and the Sultan of Egypt, under which the sultan ceded Jerusalem to Frederick for a period of ten years.⁶

¹ Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2013), p. 453.

² For details of this expansion and the role of crusade, see, for example: Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London, 1994), pp. 5-23; and Christopher Tyerman, 'Expansion and the Crusades', in Carol Lansing and Edward D. English, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval World*, Blackwell Companions to European History (Oxford, 2013), pp. 455-474. Bartlett, in *The Making of Europe*, p. 5, defines Latin Christendom as 'that area of Christendom that recognised papal authority and celebrated the Latin liturgy'. For an excellent survey of key historical developments in the crusading movement (and historiographical developments) see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2005), esp. chaps. 6-7 and Afterword. A more concise overview of military and political developments in the Near East that influenced Christian-Muslims relations during the thirteenth century is provided by Herman G. B. Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction 1200-1350. A Historical and Contextual Introduction', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), pp. 1-16. However, the most important aspect of Thomas and Mallett's publication is the up-to-date and detailed bibliographical guide it provides on primary and secondary source material relating to Christian and Muslim authors who wrote about the religious other between 1200 and 1350.

³ See n. 3 in Chapter 4 of this thesis concerning the longer term social implications of these events.

⁴ Brett Edward Whalen, 'Corresponding with Infidels: Rome, the Almohads, and the Christians of Thirteenth-Century Morocco', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 41 (2011), p. 491. John V. Tolan notes in *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), p. 194, that Innocent III in his papal bull *Quia maior*, in which he called for the Fifth Crusade, associated Muhammad with the beast of the Apocalypse, and by doing so proffered a prediction of the imminent end of Islam.

⁵ Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', p. 5. Richard Southern notes that, perhaps more significantly, it is at this time that word reached the West that a large Christian army from the East was marching towards Baghdad; the Christian army turned out to be the pagan Mongol horde of Genghis Khan: R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 45-47.

⁶ Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', pp. 5-6. Teule notes that the outcome was received ambivalently by both Christians and Muslims. See also Bernard Hamilton, 'Ideals of Holiness: Crusaders, Contemplatives, and Mendicants', *The International History Review*, 17 (1995), pp. 704-705.

Dialogue and diplomacy with Muslim rulers was also a feature of the Barons' Crusade (1234-1245), yet the crusaders again lost Jerusalem in 1244 by supporting the losing faction in a Muslim internecine conflict. King Louis IX of France was the next to endeavour to liberate Jerusalem by launching the Seventh Crusade in 1248, but, after capturing Damietta in Egypt, Louis was forced to withdraw and return to France in 1254.⁷ The 1260s saw a concerted effort by successive popes to raise a new crusade to the Holy Land and more attention given to preaching crusade.⁸ Southern sees the appearance of the Mongols from the 1220s as the factor that most influenced a change in Western Christian thinking about the problem of Islam by placing Christendom in the context of a larger, predominantly non-Christian world.⁹ However, the reports of travellers to the East continued to be a source of optimism, and increased understanding of Islam fostered hopes of conversion.¹⁰

The capture of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 led to the rise of two new dynasties in the Near East: the Mongols to the east and Mamluks to the west.¹¹ Together with hope for conversion of the Mongols to Christianity, the fall of Baghdad - seen as a sign of the imminent demise of Islam - was cause for renewed optimism.¹² However, after consolidating their position, the Mamluks turned their attention to the remaining European settlements.¹³ With the loss of significant Western Christian territory to the Mamluks during the 1260s, the need to provide assistance in the Holy Land became more acute.¹⁴ Louis IX

⁷ Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', pp. 6-7.

⁸ Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 79-80.

⁹ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 42-43. Southern in *ibid.*, p. 57, observes that the perspective of the period is perhaps well summed up by Roger Bacon around 1266: 'there are few Christians; the whole breadth of the world is occupied by unbelievers, and there is no one to show them the truth'. The quotation used by Southern can be found in Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*, J. H. Bridges, vol. 3 (London, 1900), p. 122. Ramon Llull also expressed concern about the imbalance between Christians, particularly good Christians, and the infidels ranged against them: Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), pp. 221-222.

¹⁰ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 63. See also Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 43-45 on recognition of similarities between the two faiths. Bernard Hamilton emphasises the importance of the crusades themselves in helping to foster a deeper knowledge of Islam and Muslims in the West: Bernard Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 7 (1997), pp. 374-386.

¹¹ Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', pp. 1-2.

¹² Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 62-65; Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 134-135.

¹³ Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', p. 7; Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 452-453.

¹⁴ Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2000), p. 12. Antioch was captured by the Mamluks in 1268.

commenced preparations for a new crusade but died en route in 1270.¹⁵ Despite renewed efforts in the late 1280s after the loss of further Christian possessions,¹⁶ Acre was captured in 1291, finally ending Western Christian political and military influence in the Holy Land. Following this loss and signs that the Mongols were turning to Islam, hope of success and enthusiasm for further crusades waned, and there was widespread despair.¹⁷

However, efforts to recover territory from Muslims were not limited to the Holy Land. Western Christians were also in conflict with Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. After faltering in the late twelfth century, Christian expansion in the peninsula was reinvigorated with victory at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.¹⁸ By 1248 Christians ruled the whole of the peninsula with the exception of Muslim Granada.¹⁹ As a result, the newly expanded Christian kingdoms found themselves in control of large Muslim populations which were perceived as presenting a risk of social imbalance.²⁰

Increasing contact with Muslims and their culture was occurring at a time when education in Western Europe was being transformed. Cathedral schools as centres of advanced education began to be supplanted by universities. Classical and Arab learning acquired from the Islamic world contributed to a new 'intellectual restlessness'.²¹ According to Philipp Rosemann, it was during the thirteenth century that Western 'philosophy emancipated itself

¹⁵ Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', pp. 7-8.

¹⁶ Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 16. Tripoli was captured by the Mamluks in 1289.

¹⁷ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 68-69; Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. viii, 1; Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', p. 8; Daniel G. König, 'Medieval Western Perceptions of the Islamic World: From 'Active Othering' to the 'Voices in Between'', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 25. As an example of the decline in interest in crusading even before this point, when Gregory X opened the Second Council of Lyon in 1274 with a sermon on the same text that Innocent III had used at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, unlike Innocent III's *Ad liberandam*, Gregory's *Zelus fidei* did not engender the same response. Despite Gregory's efforts, his plans for a new crusade to the Holy Land and reunion with the Greek Church failed: Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 466.

¹⁸ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp. 11-12; Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', p. 9. Olivia Constable notes that although there is no consensus among historians whether or not the Spanish Reconquista was a true crusade, it clearly was part of a wider Western Christian military endeavour in lands held by Muslims: Olivia Remie Constable, 'Muslims in Medieval Europe', in Carol Lansing and Edward D. English, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval World*, Blackwell Companions to European History (Oxford, 2013), p. 312.

¹⁹ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 13.

²⁰ Anthony Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, A. Bonner, ed. and trans., Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1985), p. 5.

²¹ Jean Paul Tilmann, *An Appraisal of the Geographical Works of Albertus Magnus and his Contributions to Geographical Thought* (Ann Arbor, 1971), p. 17.

from theology' for the first time.²² A new conception of knowledge emerged from the encounter between Christian tradition and Greco-Arab philosophy.²³ This work, particularly that of Aristotle, challenged the traditional Christian paradigm. Aristotelean naturalism and Averroes' commentaries on it created considerable controversy, but they began to become increasingly accepted and assimilated into Western Christian thought.²⁴

But the increasing significance of Aristotelianism remained of concern in certain circles.²⁵ In 1277 a papal inquiry led to what John Wippel describes as 'the most important doctrinal censure of the medieval period'.²⁶ While this backlash marked the end of more radical Aristotelianism, it was not possible to completely reject Aristotle's work. Instead a new system of thought emerged which combined traditional Augustinian doctrine and Avicenna's version of Aristotelianism.²⁷ However, it was not just Aristotelian philosophy that was being assimilated: Arab-Muslim culture was also providing Western Christians with other new insights into literature, science and medicine, and some were acquiring knowledge of the Arabic language in centres for oriental studies.²⁸

Geo-political and cultural changes intersected to drive social change in thirteenth-century Europe, and social change dictated the need for change in the Roman Church.²⁹ The Church represented not only the cultural identity of Christian Europe, but also the concept of a certain kind of society.³⁰ To assert and maintain its pre-eminence, the Church sought to

²² Philipp W. Rosemann, 'Philosophy and Theology in the Universities', in Carol Lansing and Edward D. English, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval World*, Blackwell Companions to European History (Oxford, 2013), p. 544.

²³ *Ibid.* Russel Friedman characterises the period 1200-1350 as 'a watershed in the history of Western philosophy' in his survey of philosophical developments in Europe during the period: Russell L. Friedman, 'Latin Philosophy: 1200-1350', in John Marenbon, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Philosophy* (New York, 2012), pp. 192-219, quote from p. 192.

²⁴ Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 45-46; König, 'Medieval Western Perceptions', p. 23; Rosemann, 'Philosophy and Theology in the Universities', p. 549. Southern notes that while a large body of Greco-Arabic philosophy had been accessible in the West since the late twelfth century, it was only around the 1230s that it succeeded in being incorporated into Western Christian theology: Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 53. See also Friedman, 'Latin Philosophy', pp. 206-207.

²⁵ Rosemann, 'Philosophy and Theology in the Universities', p. 552.

²⁶ Cited in *ibid.*, p. 552., from John F. Wippel, 'David Piche on the Condemnation of 1277: A Critical Study', *American Catholic Philosophical Review Quarterly*, 75 (2001), pp. 597-624, quote at p. 597.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 554.

²⁸ Teule, 'Christian-Muslim Religious Interaction', pp. 14-15.

²⁹ John Hine Mundy, *Europe in the High Middle Ages, 1150-1300*, 3rd ed. (London and New York, 2000), pp. 13-14.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, p. 23.

regulate all aspects of society.³¹ The crusades were not only considered important for the security of Christendom, but the outcomes also reflected on the moral status of Christian society.³² The failure of crusade was felt particularly by the papacy: it had nurtured the movement and crusading had contributed to the rise of papal power.³³ There were concerns that the successive losses weakened the faith of Christians, presenting the danger of apostasy, which was heightened by the spread of heretical movements.³⁴ During the thirteenth century the Church became more 'militant and muscular' in dealing with dissent.³⁵ Codification of papal decisions provided the means to extend papal authority, and unify the Church.³⁶ But the challenge for the Church as the century progressed was to how to renew enthusiasm for crusade and find new approaches to facilitate recovery of the Holy Land.³⁷

The Christian West and Muslim East were engaged in a multitude of ways during the Middle Ages.³⁸ Aside from the military, intellectual and social challenges it presented, Islam's existence also presented a theological problem: how did it fit within the traditional Christian schema of history; what was its nature? The problem for Western Christians was that they knew so little about it.³⁹ It is this questing for understanding about Islam that can be seen developing during the twelfth and, in particular, the thirteenth centuries,⁴⁰ and in which the Dominican and Franciscan orders featured prominently.

Rather than the problem of Islam, it was as a response to the need to find a new approach to combating heresy, and biblical injunctions to preach that the new mendicant orders of the Roman Church emerged in the early thirteenth century. The two main groups which

³¹ Mundy, *Europe in the High Middle Ages*, pp. 13-14.

³² Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 2.

³³ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 3-4.

³⁴ A. J. Forey, 'Western Converts to Islam (Later Eleventh to Later Fifteenth Centuries)', *Traditio*, 68 (2013), pp. 154-157.

³⁵ Jane E. Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader in Europe, 1196-1216* (London and New York, 1994), p. 187.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 194; James M. Powell, 'Introduction', in *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III: By an Anonymous Author* (Washington, 2004), p. xiii; Andreas Meyer, 'Papal Monarchy', in Carol Lansing and Edward D. English, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval World*, Blackwell Companions to European History (Oxford, 2013), p. 391.

³⁷ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 4-8.

³⁸ David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, 'Introduction', in David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1999), p. 3.

³⁹ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. xviii; Thomas F. O'Meara, 'The Theology and Times of William of Tripoli, O.P.: A Different View of Islam', *Theological Studies*, 69 (2008), pp. 81-82.

developed were the followers of the Italian Francis of Assisi (c.1181-1226) and the Spanish regular canon Dominic de Guzman (c.1170-1221), which became the Order of Friars Minor, the Franciscans, and the Order of Preachers, the Dominicans.⁴¹

In 1209, Francis obtained the approval of Pope Innocent III to live a life of voluntary poverty, and for him and his followers to preach.⁴² While Francis had not established his group to combat heresy, it proved to be an effective means of competing with heretical movements.⁴³ The potential of Francis' group was recognised by Pope Honorius III (1216-1227), who approved a rule for it in 1223.⁴⁴ The lay nature of the order changed from the 1240's as educated men began to join and ordained clergy assumed leadership positions.⁴⁵ Over time most members came to accept the establishment of conventual houses and centres of learning in urban areas, with the more radical proponents of absolute poverty eventually marginalised or expelled.⁴⁶

Concerned about the spread of heretical groups, Dominic established his first community in south-western France in 1213-14.⁴⁷ Initially the emphasis of Dominic's approach was on preaching by poor travelling clergy; Dominic conceived of an order devoted to combating heresy, with members highly trained in theology and preaching, who could gain credibility

⁴¹ Constance H. Berman, 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', in Carol Lansing and Edward D. English, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval World*, Blackwell Companions to European History (Oxford, 2013), pp. 242-243.

⁴² Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 228-229. Berman, in 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', p. 243, notes that historians have seen Innocent's acceptance of Francis' request as a prudent decision by which he co-opted a group that was potentially heretical. John Moorman provides a detailed account of the early development of the Franciscan Order, including of a second order for women and third order for lay religious, in *A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 10-80.

⁴³ Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, pp. 231-232.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 232; Berman, 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', pp. 243-244.

⁴⁵ Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, p. 233; David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park, PA, 2001), pp. 4-6; Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 44-47.

⁴⁶ James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550* (Liverpool, 1979), p. 47; Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, pp. 230, 232-233; Berman, 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', p. 244. On the challenges faced by Franciscans in adhering to St Francis' ideals and living in the world, see Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 6-10. While there were growing tensions within the Order, there is little evidence of a clear split and the emergence of a conservative "spiritual Franciscan" faction until around 1274: *ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁷ William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, Vol. 1: Origins and Growth to 1500 (Staten Island, 1966), pp. 31-40; Berman, 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', p. 243.

with heretical sympathisers.⁴⁸ However, unlike Francis, for Dominic poverty and begging were a means to an end.⁴⁹ The establishment of the Order of Preachers was authorised by Honorius III in 1216.⁵⁰ While the emphasis on preaching was maintained, as with the Franciscans, over time there was a greater focus by the Dominicans on training, study and institutionalisation, than on the rejection of property.⁵¹

While in the past historians have considered both St Dominic and St Francis to have been 'anti-crusaders', more recent appraisals indicate that the involvement of their orders in supporting crusade did not contradict the founders' ideologies, and there were few critics of it within the orders.⁵² The Franciscans and Dominicans were the first religious orders whose main aim was preaching, and whose members were systematically trained to do so.⁵³ They were also widely established across Europe under a hierarchical structure, and, unlike their monastic contemporaries, they were mobile.⁵⁴ For Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241), all these factors made them ideal for the dissemination of crusade propaganda.⁵⁵ The use of the friars to preach crusade in the mid to late 1230s proved to be such a success that popes continued to use them for this purpose for the remainder of the century.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, pp. 42-44; Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, p. 235; Berman, 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', p. 243; O'Meara, 'The Theology and Times of William of Tripoli', pp. 80-81.

⁴⁹ Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, p. 235.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; Berman, 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', p. 243. Brett discusses the importance accorded to education by the Dominicans and the development of a structure for Dominican education during the thirteenth century in *Humbert of Romans*, pp. 41-56. Friedman in 'Latin Philosophy', pp. 192-193, remarks on the role of the Dominican and Franciscan educational systems in training some of the most important Western thinkers in the latter medieval and early modern periods. See *ibid.*, pp. 199-201, 209-212, for an overview on the importance of the mendicant orders to medieval philosophy, and differences between the two orders' philosophical tendencies. Hinnebusch provides a detailed account of the foundation of the Order and its consolidation during its early years in *The History of the Dominican Order*, pp. 39-118.

⁵² Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 8-9, 161. Maier notes that, in fact, as an expression of 'forceful and ebullient religious belief', the crusade appears to have complemented the pastoral programs of the orders: see *ibid.*, p. 166. Tolan provides an excellent overview of the differing interpretations by commentators and artists over the centuries to the meeting between St Francis and the Uyyabid sultan, Malik al-Kamil in 1219 during the Fifth Crusade, which has been used to argue various positions concerning Francis' beliefs. Tolan highlights the influence on these interpretations of 'changing hopes and fears regarding Islam and East-West relations': John Tolan, 'History and Memory: The Encounter Between Francis of Assisi and Malik al-Kamil', *Studi Francescani*, 108 (2011), pp. 537-559.

⁵³ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 7-8.

⁵⁶ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 36, 166.

The use of force continued to be promoted by many as the best means to recapture the Holy Land and propagate Christianity, but its evident failure, concerns about its consequences, or desire to spread the Gospel led others to turn their attention to mission and conversion, particularly members of the new mendicant orders.⁵⁷ While Franciscans may have supported the crusade, mission was central to the Franciscan ideal; they devoted their lives to preaching to redeem all people.⁵⁸ Through preaching to the infidel and, if necessary, accepting martyrdom, Franciscans sought to emulate the apostles, inspire religious fervour and improve Christian society.⁵⁹

The Dominicans on the other hand were more motivated by desire to convert than by the prospect of martyrdom.⁶⁰ They adopted a different approach to mission to the Muslims. In particular, they sought to attack Islam by attempting to demonstrate contradictions within the Muslim scriptures. They appear to have pursued the strategy enthusiastically, learning Arabic, studying the Qur'an, producing handbooks to assist missionaries, and forcing Muslim scholars to debate with them.⁶¹ The Dominicans' approach was largely dependent on negative reasoning, attacking the Qur'an and defending Christian belief. They did not believe it was possible to rationally prove the truth of Christianity, for if this was possible it

⁵⁷ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 122-139; Philip K. Hitti, 'The Impact of the Crusades on Moslem Lands', in N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. V: The impact of the Crusades on the Near East (Madison, 1985), p. 57; O'Meara, 'The Theology and Times of William of Tripoli', p. 81; Whalen, 'Corresponding with Infidels', pp. 490-491. Benjamin Z. Kedar in *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 133-134, argues that the principal factor behind the development of preaching to Muslims in the thirteenth century was not criticism of crusade, but rather a desire to spread the word of the Gospel, an extension of the new religiosity of the period based on the apostolic life.

⁵⁸ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 187-188.

⁵⁹ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 214. Kedar in *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 125-126, states his belief that while Francis did not necessarily advocate a single-minded quest for martyrdom, it is evident that a tension between preaching and martyrdom developed early in the history of the Order. See also comments in relation to Tolan, 'History and Memory' in n. 52 in this chapter.

⁶⁰ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 203.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 234; John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008), p. 38. In contrast to the conventional view expressed by Tolan, Robin Vose has questioned the commitment of the Dominicans in the thirteenth century to mission to Jews and Muslims, at least by friars in the Crown of Aragon. Instead, he believes that they were far more concerned with pastoral care and the protection of Christian society from non-Christian belief. He argues that there is a lack of evidence for any sustained, comprehensive Dominican missionary strategy for the western Mediterranean. However, he does acknowledge that the concept of mission was central to the Order, but its promulgation among non-Christians was sporadic: Robin Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York, 2009), pp. 15, 21-22, 58-59, 129-130, 161-164, 192-193, 248-249, 257-259. Vose provides a detailed account of the development of the Dominican concept of mission in Chapter 1 of his book.

would negate the merit of faith.⁶² Unable to prove Christian doctrine through reason, they turned to attacking what they interpreted as the carnality and irrationality of Islam.⁶³ Franciscans were also not above demeaning Islam, and they also appreciated the difficulty of convincing unbelievers of the truth of Christianity.⁶⁴ But, as shall be shown in the following chapters, the idea that the truth of Christianity could not be proven through reason would be disputed by some thirteenth-century Franciscan friars,⁶⁵ and they will use Arab-Muslim sources in their attempt to do so.

⁶² Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 241-242; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 194-196.

⁶³ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 245.

⁶⁴ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 194.

⁶⁵ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 245.

2. The Authors and their Writings

The five authors who are examined in this chapter have been selected on the basis of their prominence in the secondary literature, and the diversity they offer, in terms of type of work and perspective on Islam and Muslims, while maintaining a balance between representatives from each order.¹ The texts are not restricted to simple polemics or apologetics, but also include philosophical studies, epistles, treatises prepared for Church councils and travel accounts.² While the focus is on a limited number of texts, other works composed by the authors are also examined. The principal texts span the period from 1257 to around 1300. The second-half of the thirteenth century is an interesting period to examine for a variety of reasons. It is marked by Christian success in Spain but the failure of the Seventh Crusade, and escalating Western Christian concerns about loss of territory in the Holy Land, together with concerted efforts to raise a new crusade. It also saw the growing influence of Greco-Arabic philosophy, and increasing attention given to the study of Arabic and Arabic texts by both Dominicans and Franciscans.

¹ Two notable omissions are the Dominican friars William of Tripoli (born first-third of the thirteenth century - died after 1273) and Ramon Marti (c.1220-c.1284). Space restrictions aside, the lack of biographical detail for William, and of any substantive English translations precluded detailed examination of their work. Two texts which have been attributed to William, *Notitia de Machometo* (c.1271) and *De statu Sarracenorum* (1273), are significant for their relatively positive attitude toward Islam: Thomas E. Burman, 'William of Tripoli', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), pp. 515, 517. But Hussein Attiya in 'Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), p. 212, does note that despite his evident knowledge of the Qur'an, William's anti-Muslim polemic followed tradition lines. See Thomas F. O'Meara, 'The Theology and Times of William of Tripoli, O.P.: A Different View of Islam', *Theological Studies*, 69 (2008), pp. 80-98, for a discussion on William's theology of Islam. The most comprehensive account of Marti's life, in English, I have found is provided by Robin Vose in *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York, 2009), see esp. pp. 105-106, 112-115, 223-225. Marti's work is significant for the number of non-Christian sources which it draws on and, together with the work of Riccoldo da Montecroce and William of Tripoli, demonstrates the large range of Arabic texts that Dominican scholars had access to: Thomas E. Burman, 'Ramon Marti', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), pp. 388-389. While there have been many studies on Marti, most focus on his anti-Jewish works and are not in English. The most extensive examination of Marti's anti-Muslim works in English appears to be provided by John V. Tolan, in *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), pp. 233-244. Thomas Burman also provides useful insights into the influence on Marti's work of Mozarabic anti-Muslim polemic tradition: Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs* (Leiden and New York, 1994), esp. pp. 204-209.

² Rita George-Tvrtkovic in *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. ix-x, notes that scholars have recently recognised the inadequacy of polemics to fully represent the spectrum of views presented by medieval Christian authors concerning the "other".

Humbert of Romans, Dominican (c.1200-1277)

Humbert was born at Romans in France and studied in Paris. In 1224 he entered the Dominican Order, and rapidly rose through its ranks. He was appointed the Order's master-general in 1254, and held that office until his retirement in 1263.³ Humbert was also prominent in the pastoral reform movement, that aimed to spread the teachings of moral theology among the laity.⁴ As master-general he oversaw the participation of the Dominicans in missions and the promotion of crusades.⁵ Although there is no evidence that Humbert preached crusade, he was actively involved in promulgating crusade propaganda, particularly for Louis IX's first expedition in 1248.⁶ Among the measures implemented by Humbert during his time as master-general was a new missionary drive, supported by the establishment of centres for oriental studies.⁷

Humbert used his time in retirement to write, including composing his principal texts on preaching.⁸ He possessed a collection of texts which informed his writing that Daniel describes as 'wholly uncritical and unselective'.⁹ Humbert left a large corpus of work, much

³ Simon Tugwell, 'Introduction', in Simon Tugwell, ed., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (London, 1982), pp. 5, 31-33; Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 11-12; Thomas E. Burman, 'Humbert of Romans', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012) p. 509. Although historians have claimed that Humbert journeyed to the Near East during the early part of his career, there is no conclusive evidence: Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 7-8. The most detailed recent studies on Humbert and his work in English that I have identified are: Brett, *Humbert of Romans*; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*; and Penny J. Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, eds., *The Experience of Crusading*, Vol. 1: Western Approaches (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 157-174.

⁴ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 4-5. The issues addressed by the movement ranged from those of concern to wider society, such as religious instruction and marriage, to issues of concern to specific groups, such as war and justice: *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵ Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 355-356. See Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews*, pp. 43-48, for a discussion on Humbert's efforts in fostering an increased focus by the Dominican Order on proselytising to non-Christians.

⁶ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 12. Jo Ann Moran Cruz refers to Humbert as 'one of the greatest proponents of a crusade and a papal propagandist': Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam in Medieval Europe', in David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1999), p. 65. See also Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 112.

⁷ Tugwell, 'Introduction', pp. 31-32; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 56. Brett notes that it was also during Humbert's time as master-general that Dominican friars were first permitted to study philosophy, but his support for this initiative was not without reservation: *ibid.*, pp. 3, 46. See also reference to this issue in Chapter 4.

⁸ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 11-12.

⁹ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 232.

of which was intended for the instruction of friars.¹⁰ Among the better known of his extant works are *The Preaching of the Holy Cross against the Saracens*¹¹ (1266-1268) and the *Three-Part Treatise*¹² (c.1273).

The Preaching of the Holy Cross is a manual to help those preaching crusade, written at a time when crusading had become deeply unpopular.¹³ Louis IX's first crusade had failed, the Mamluks were making gains in the Holy Land, and popes were attempting to reinvigorate the crusading movement. In Cole's view it is 'like an omnibus, a reference collection of ideas and information about crusading'. In it Humbert explains his mission to teach preachers about the meaning and significance of crusade.¹⁴ The text is principally concerned with the reasons why Christians should participate in crusade, but Humbert does refer to Muhammad and Islamic belief and practice.¹⁵

Humbert wrote the *Three-Part Treatise* for the Second Council of Lyon in 1274. The treatise addressed the three issues on which Pope Gregory X was seeking advice: crusade, the schism between the Western and Eastern churches, and Church reform.¹⁶ It presented Islam

¹⁰ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 11.

¹¹ *De praedicatione sanctae crucis contra Saracenos*. Also known as: *Liber sive tractatus de praedicatione sanctae crucis contra Sarracenos infideles et paganos* (*Book on the Preaching of the Holy Cross against the Unbelieving and Pagan Saracens*); and *De praedicatione sanctae crucis*. For all the key primary sources I use the common English title in the narrative, but provide other commonly used Latin and English titles in a footnote. There is no full English translation of this text; excerpts are provided in Cole, 'Humbert of Romans'.

¹² *Opusculum tripartitum*. An English translation of part of this text is provided in 'Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum tripartitum*, ca.1272-1274', in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 455-465. There are also four extant *ad status* crusade model sermons written by Humbert. Only one relates specifically to crusade to the Holy Land. They are short, abridged versions of model sermons, which provide little insight into Humbert's perceptions of either Islam or Muslims: Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 28, 33. See 'Humbert of Romans: Sermons I-IV', in Christopher T. Maier, ed. and trans., *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 210-229. For a general discussion on Humbert's *ad status* sermons, see D. L. D'Avray and M. Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons in *Ad Status* Collections of the Central Middle Ages', in Nicole Bériou and David. L. D'Avray, eds., *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 80-81.

¹³ Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 167; Burman, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 511.

¹⁴ Cole, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 164. Cole stresses that it is more than an 'instructional manual for friars charged with preaching the crusade' as claimed by Brett: see Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, quote at p. 8.

¹⁵ Burman, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 511.

¹⁶ Anthony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2000), p. 13; Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 455. Brett in *Humbert of Romans*, p. 4, claims that the text was used by Gregory X to establish the agenda for the meeting.

as the most significant threat facing Christianity.¹⁷ Written shortly after the fall of Antioch and the failure of Louis IX's second crusade, Humbert acknowledges how unpopular crusading had become. He saw that his task was to defend and renew interest in crusading.¹⁸

Gilbert of Tournai, Franciscan (c.1200-c.1284)¹⁹

Gilbert is well known to medievalists as a preacher, scholar and moralist.²⁰ He was born into a noble family, entered the University of Paris at an early age, and became a master during the 1230s. Around 1240 he became a Franciscan friar in Paris.²¹ Like Humbert, he was also a prominent member of the pastoral reform movement.²² It is unclear whether or not Gilbert participated in Louis IX's first crusade, but it is likely that he preached the cross for it.²³ After completing his doctorate of theology, Gilbert held the position of Franciscan regent master in Paris, possibly between 1259 and 1261,²⁴ before he retired to concentrate on writing and preaching. During his life Gilbert composed a vast corpus covering education, history, hagiography, devotional literature, sermons, political philosophy and Church reform; as with Humbert, much of Gilbert's writing was intended for use in the training of friars.²⁵

¹⁷ Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 178; Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 456.

¹⁸ Burman, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 513. Palmer A. Throop in *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 22-24, discusses how Gregory X used submissions such as Humbert's to assess general sentiment concerning another crusade. Throop considers Humbert's treatise to be an example of the final stage in the development of 'crusade excitatoria': *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁹ Like other authors examined in this chapter, there is little biographical detail available for Gilbert. The dates of his birth and death are those cited in Sean Field, 'Gilbert Of Tournai's Letter to Isabelle of France: An Edition of the Complete Text', *Mediaeval Studies*, 65 (2003), pp. 59-60.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. Field notes that, despite his prominence, no comprehensive study of Gilbert's life or works has been undertaken. Although Field made this observation in 2003, it appears to remain the case, at least in the English language literature. More attention has been given to Gilbert's non-crusade works. Aside from Field, see for example: D'Avray and Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons in *Ad Status* Collections', pp. 77-134; and Adam J. Davis, 'Preaching in Thirteenth-Century Hospitals', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), pp. 72-89. A useful detailed bibliography for Gilbert, which includes manuscripts, editions and secondary literature, can be found under 'Guilbertus Tornacensis' in Maarten van der Heijden and Bert Roest's website, *Franciscan Authors, 13th-18th Century: A Catalogue in Progress*, at <http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/index.htm>, accessed 15 October 2014. The site also provides extensive bibliographies for Roger Bacon and Ramon Llull.

²¹ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 10; Field, 'Gilbert of Tournai's Letter', p. 59.

²² Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 4-5.

²³ John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), p. 247; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 11; Field, 'Gilbert of Tournai's Letter', p. 59.

²⁴ Field, 'Gilbert of Tournai's Letter', p. 59. Field notes that other dates favoured by some scholars are 1257-1260 or 1259-1263.

²⁵ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 247; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 11.

Gilbert's collection of *ad status* sermons - model sermons which address specific social groups - contain three crusade sermons.²⁶ It appears likely that Gilbert did not intend that these sermons be used for the preaching of particular crusades but rather they be adapted to differing circumstances. Model sermons tended to focus on the devotional and moral aspects of life, but military, material or political issues could be introduced by the user.²⁷

A treatise prepared by Gilbert, the *Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae* (c.1272-1274), appears to have been written for the Second Council of Lyon.²⁸ The treatise is principally concerned with reforms which Gilbert considered necessary for the recovery of the Holy Land.²⁹ Throop describes it as the 'most caustic' of the submissions made to the Council in terms of Gilbert's condemnation of the problems he identifies within the church and secular society, which he believed were responsible for the failure of the crusades.³⁰

Roger Bacon, Franciscan (c.1214-c.1292)³¹

A historically contentious figure,³² Bacon appears to have been the son of a wealthy Anglo-Norman family and was educated at Oxford. During the 1240s he was in Paris where he taught and began utilising translations of Arab commentaries and treatises.³³ Like the other

²⁶ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 4, 7, 11. Davis in 'Preaching in Thirteenth-Century Hospitals', p. 75, dates Gilbert's composition of his sermon collection to sometime after 1261. English translations of Gilbert's three crusade sermons are provided in 'Gilbert of Tournai: Sermons I-III', in Christopher T. Maier, ed. and trans., *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 176-209.

²⁷ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, pp. 29, 54-55.

²⁸ Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 13; Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 453. An English translation of part of this text is provided in 'Gilbert of Tournai, On the Reform of the Crusade, ca.1272-1274', in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 453-455.

²⁹ Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 454.

³⁰ Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 69-71.

³¹ It is thought that Bacon was born between 1210 and 1220, most commonly given as 1214, and died after 1292: Amanda Power, 'Roger Bacon', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 457.

³² Amanda Power, who has written extensively on Bacon, provides an excellent review of the historiography of Bacon in 'A Mirror for Every Age: The Reputation of Roger Bacon', *The English Historical Review*, 121 (2006), pp. 657-692. In the article she notes that while much has been written about him, proper study of Bacon 'has been hindered to an unusual degree by being conducted outside the appropriate historical context': p. 658. As noted previously, an extensive bibliography for Bacon is provided under 'Roger Bacon' in Maarten van der Heijden and Bert Roest's website, *Franciscan Authors, 13th-18th Century: A Catalogue in Progress*, at <http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/index.htm>, accessed 15 October 2014.

³³ George Molland, 'Bacon [Bakun], Roger (c.1214-1292?)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,

authors discussed below, Bacon was educated at a time when Greco-Arabic philosophy was having its first real impact on Western Christian thought.³⁴ Toward the end of the 1240s he left the university to undertake private study in languages and science.³⁵ He entered the Franciscan Order around 1257, although his reasons for doing so are unclear.³⁶

In the 1260s Bacon came to the attention of the future Pope Clement IV, who upon his elevation in 1266 requested a copy of Bacon's work to understand remedies which Bacon had described to him to address issues of 'great danger'. Bacon subsequently forwarded to Clement three treatises which included what is now known as the *Opus Maius*. While the nature of the 'great danger' is not elaborated, Bacon was concerned about the consequences of ignorance and intellectual complacency.³⁷

The importance that Bacon placed on knowledge made him hostile to the condemnation of Aristotle's works in 1277.³⁸ He argued that all philosophy, whatever its source, was both universal and cohesive, believed it was useful in aiding understanding of the truth of Christianity,³⁹ and sought to catalogue true knowledge as a means to guide all people.⁴⁰ Bacon had no direct contact with the Muslim world, but he did place less emphasis than many of his contemporaries on the use of the scriptures and earlier authorities to

Online ed. (Oxford, 2004), at <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/view/article/1008?docPos=1>, accessed 10 September 2014, p. 1 of 10; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 457.

³⁴ R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 52.

³⁵ Burke, 'Introduction', in *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon. A Translation by Robert Belle Burke*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, Vol. 1 (New York, 1962), p. xi; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 457.

³⁶ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 457.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

³⁸ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 226. Tolan states that it is around this time that Bacon spent a period in prison, a claim also made by Burke in 'Introduction', p. xii. Power notes that one source does state that he was condemned and sent to a Franciscan prison for 'suspected novelties' in his work; however, there continues to be controversy concerning the validity of this report: Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 458. Tolan believes that Bacon stands apart from fellow Franciscans of the time as he was critical of the Church's position on intellectual and political issues, in particular crusades and missionary strategies: Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 225.

³⁹ Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 69. Bacon, like Ramon Llull, believed it was possible to prove the truth of Christianity, unlike their Dominican contemporaries: see Chapter 1 of this thesis.

⁴⁰ Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), pp. 197-198. In the *Opus Maius*, Bacon states that 'by the light of knowledge the Church of God is governed, the commonwealth of the faithful is regulated, the conversion of unbelievers is secured, and those who persist in their malice can be held in check': *Opus Majus*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, Vol. 1 (New York, 1962), p. 3.

understand Islam, relying instead on Arab-Muslim philosophy and the accounts of travellers such as the Franciscan William of Rubruck.⁴¹

Bacon's best known work is the *Opus Maius*, which he composed between 1266 and 1268. As noted by Amanda Power, aside from more detailed discussion provided in Part 4 'Mathematics' and Part 7 'Moral Philosophy', references to Muslims and Islam are scattered throughout the text.⁴² Despite his quest for true knowledge and his fascination with the scientific and philosophical work of Muslim scholars, and the fact that he must have had access to translations of the Qur'an, Power observes that Bacon demonstrates a paucity of knowledge of Islam.⁴³

Ramon Llull, Franciscan Tertiary (c.1232-c.1316)

Lull is, arguably, the most enigmatic of the five authors due to the diversity of positions on Islam and Muslims he adopts. He appears to have come from a noble family from Catalonia and was born in Majorca, which had recently been captured from the Muslims.⁴⁴ During the thirteenth century Majorca was cosmopolitan, and had a significant Muslim presence.⁴⁵ Much of what is known about Llull's life comes from his autobiography, the *Vita coetanea* (1311).⁴⁶ While serving as a royal courtier, Llull claims to have received a series of divine visions which resulted in him dedicating his life to God and the conversion of infidels.⁴⁷ It

⁴¹ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 52, 61. William's account is recorded in his *Itinerary* (c.1255). The account was little known in the Middle Ages. His audience appears to have been 'primarily educated and monastic': Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia, 2014), p. 32.

⁴² Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 462. The standard English translation of the text is Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, 2 vols. (New York, 1962).

⁴³ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 464.

⁴⁴ Anthony Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, A. Bonner, ed. and trans., Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1985), p. 11. Bonner's two volume work probably provides the most comprehensive and authoritative account in English of Llull's life and work, and includes English translations of several of his texts, as well as a catalogue of his works. Vose provides a good overview of Llull's life and career in *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews*, pp. 31-33. Another useful study on Llull is one by Tolan, who devotes a chapter examining Llull's approach to mission and conversion in *Saracens*, chap. 11. As noted previously, an extensive bibliography for Llull is provided under 'Raymund Lull' in Maarten van der Heijden and Bert Roest's website, *Franciscan Authors, 13th-18th Century: A Catalogue in Progress*, at <http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/index.htm>, accessed 15 October 2014.

⁴⁵ Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, pp. 3, 9.

⁴⁶ He narrated it to a group of monks he befriended towards the end of his life, but it omits details of his life before his conversion: *ibid.*, p. 12. An annotated English translation is provided in 'Vita coetanea', in Anthony Bonner, ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, trans. A. Bonner, Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1985), pp. 13-48.

⁴⁷ Harvey Hames, 'Ramon Llull', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 703.

was also at this time that he decided to 'write a book, the best in the world, against the errors of unbelievers'.⁴⁸

Following his conversion, Llull spent nine years in Majorca learning Arabic with the assistance of a Muslim slave, and studying the works of Arab scholars and Muslim theology.⁴⁹ It was at the end of this time, in 1274, that he composed the *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem* (the 'Art') which provided him with a framework to examine the nature of religions.⁵⁰ Llull became a prolific writer, composing some 280 works on a wide range of subjects.⁵¹ His affiliation with the Franciscans remains unclear; he appears to have considered joining the Dominicans, but was closer to the Franciscans in 'thought and spirit'.⁵²

Llull was critical of the strategy for the conversion of infidels adopted by Dominicans such as Ramon Marti (c.1220-c.1284). He believed that there was a need to offer proof of the truth of Christianity; his own strategy was to convince Muslims to convert by building on what they already believed.⁵³ His approach was centred on challenging Muslims and Jews to identify a faith acceptable to all three religions.⁵⁴ This approach is best exemplified in his

⁴⁸ 'Vita coetanea', p. 15, para. 6.

⁴⁹ Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, pp. 18-20; John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008), p. 126; Hames, 'Ramon Llull', p. 703. While it was believed that Llull travelled extensively following his period of study, scholars now generally believe the extent of his travels has been exaggerated: Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁰ Hames, 'Ramon Llull', pp. 703-704. Burman discusses the influence of Mozarabic polemic tradition on Llull's *Art* in *Religious Polemic*, esp. pp. 201-204.

⁵¹ Hames, 'Ramon Llull', p. 704.

⁵² Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, p. 32, n. 122. Bonner notes that if Llull did become a member of the Franciscan third order, it was not until after 1304. See 'Vita coetanea', p. 31-32, paras. 21-24.

⁵³ Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, p. 58; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 256; Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 126. See n. 1 in this chapter concerning Marti. He was one of the key proponents of the Dominican strategy of attempting to undermine the precepts of the Qur'an through the use of logic and scholastic theology, but which did not, conversely, seek to prove the truth of Christianity: see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 233-235, and Chapter 1 of this thesis. Llull's disapproval is reflected in the *Book of the Gentile* when the Christian character states, 'To our great shame, we Christians were negligent about explaining and demonstrating our belief to unbelievers': 'The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men', in Anthony Bonner, ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, trans. A. Bonner, Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1985), p. 233.

⁵⁴ Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, p. 58.

Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men,⁵⁵ written around 1275. Llull's translator, Anthony Bonner, believes it is Llull's most important apologetic and polemical work.⁵⁶

The *Book of the Gentile* is presented as a debate between three wise men, a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim, conducted before a Gentile.⁵⁷ The three wise men agree to use the principles of the *Art* to attempt to establish the true faith. For Bonner, the most surprising aspect of the text is the civility of the participants.⁵⁸ However, Harvey Hames has recently remarked that while the work is sometimes interpreted as depicting inter-faith tolerance, this is not the case, particularly when Llull's wider corpus is considered.⁵⁹ While presenting a reasonably accurate, and apparently objective, portrayal of each of the three religions, it is clearly biased toward Christianity.⁶⁰

Riccoldo da Montecroce,⁶¹ Dominican (c.1243-1320)

Rita George-Tvrtkovic, who published a study on Riccoldo in 2012, finds him perplexing, because he 'cannot be easily categorized either as an unequivocal friend or as a foe to Muslims'.⁶² Like Llull, Riccoldo expressed differing views of Islam and Muslims, but in the case of Riccoldo there appears to be a clear change over time.⁶³ While it is known that he was born in Florence, there is little information on his life before and after his return from a journey to the east. He indicates that he was devoted to St Francis, which George-Tvrtkovic notes is an interesting admission from a Dominican.⁶⁴ Riccoldo entered the Order in 1267

⁵⁵ *Llibre del gentil i dels tres savis*. The standard English translation of this text is provided in 'The Book of the Gentile', pp. 91-304.

⁵⁶ Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, p. 94. Cf. Tolan in *Saracens*, p. 263, who simply describes it as one of the most important of Llull's early works.

⁵⁷ Bonner notes that Llull defines Gentiles as 'people without religion, and who have no knowledge of God': 'The Book of the Gentile', p. 111, n. 7.

⁵⁸ Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, pp. 97-98. For example, Llull describes how when the men met 'they greeted each other in friendly fashion,...each inquiring about the other's health...And all three decided to enjoy themselves together, so as to gladden their spirits': Ramon Llull, 'The Book of the Gentile', p. 113.

⁵⁹ Hames, 'Ramon Llull', p. 710.

⁶⁰ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 266; Hames, 'Ramon Llull', p. 710.

⁶¹ Also known as: Ricold of Monte Croce, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, and Riccoldo da Monte di Croce.

⁶² George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. xii. George-Tvrtkovic notes on pp. xi-xvii, that up until she wrote her book, there had been few studies on Riccoldo in English, and that her monograph provides the first complete English translations of two of Riccoldo's works, the *Liber peregrinationis* and *Epistolae ad ecclesiam triumphantem*.

⁶³ See comments in n. 107, in Chapter 3 of this thesis on Christopher MacEvitt's views concerning the implications of differing interpretations of the chronology of Riccoldo's texts.

⁶⁴ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, pp. 2-3.

and appears to have become an important member of the priory of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, a key centre of learning at the time.⁶⁵

In 1288 Riccoldo set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and to preach to infidels. His journey is described in his *Book of Pilgrimage*⁶⁶ written around 1300. After visiting the Holy Land he continued further east and north before arriving in Baghdad where he studied Arabic and the Qur'an. He was in Baghdad when he heard of the fall of Acre in 1291, and possibly still there when the Ilkhan Mongols converted to Islam in around 1295. He appears to have spent much of the 1290s in the Middle East before returning to Florence around 1300.⁶⁷

George-Tvrtkovic observes that while much of what Riccoldo wrote concerning Islam and Muslims is similar to contemporary views, his experience of living with Muslims and his willingness to write about his experience makes him a unique commentator.⁶⁸ Riccoldo was a prolific writer, and five of his texts are extant.⁶⁹ Two of them, *Letters on the Triumph of the Church*⁷⁰ (1291-1299)⁷¹ and the *Book of Pilgrimage*, are noteworthy because they reveal

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4; Thomas E. Burman, 'Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 678.

⁶⁶ *Liber peregrinationis*. Also known as the *Itinerarius* (Itinerary). The only complete English translation is 'The Book of Pilgrimage', in *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam*, trans. Rita George-Tvrtkovic (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 175-227.

⁶⁷ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 245-246; Burman, 'Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', p. 678; George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, pp. 11-15. George-Tvrtkovic notes that at one stage during the latter part of his time in the Near East it appears that he was forced by circumstances to work as a camel-driver: *ibid.*, p. 14. It is possible that his return to Italy may have been precipitated by the need to answer charges concerning aspects of his work: Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 246; George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 5, inc. n. 26.

⁶⁸ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 15. Tolan suggests it is possible that the poet Dante and Riccoldo met in Florence, with Riccoldo sharing with him his insights into Islam: John Tolan, 'Mendicants and Muslims in Dante's Florence', *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, 125, Dante and Islam (2007), p. 231. See n. 16 in Chapter 4 concerning Dante's treatment of Muslims in his work, the *Divine Comedy*.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ *Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphatam*. Also known as: *Epistole de prosperitate Sarracenorum in temporabilibus et deiectione Christianorum* (Letters on the Temporal Success of the Muslims and the Abject State of the Christians); *Epistolae V de perditione Acconis* (Five Letters on the Fall of Acre); and *Epistolae quinque commentatorie de perditione Acconis*. The only complete English translation is 'Five Letters on the Fall of Acre (1291): Riccoldo of Montecroce of the Order of Preachers', in *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam*, trans. Rita George-Tvrtkovic (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 137-174.

⁷¹ Date given by Burman in 'Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', p. 681. George-Tvrtkovic in *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 36, does not provide a date but states that it appears that all five letters were inspired while Riccoldo was still in the Near East, with at least one written while he was still there.

Riccardo's ambivalence about Islam, and associated tensions, which is unusual in medieval Latin writing.⁷²

Written following the fall of Acre, Riccardo's reflections on Islam contained in the *Letters* have led historians to describe them as 'remarkable' and 'unique'.⁷³ Rather than attacking Islam, Riccardo reflects instead on its success. He questions God's role in human history and whether God truly favours Islam, and seeks divine help for Christianity.⁷⁴ However, as Burman notes, the letters are not without polemic.⁷⁵

While still demonstrating ambivalence toward Muslims, what is most apparent from the *Book* is Riccardo's evident admiration for their devotion to God.⁷⁶ George-Tvrtkovic believes that it is significant for its insight, accuracy and positive assessment of Muslim praxis.⁷⁷ While the *Book* is intended as a guide for other Dominicans,⁷⁸ Burman notes that Riccardo's positive treatment of Muslims is ostensibly intended to chastise Christians for their lack of religious commitment.⁷⁹

Shortly after writing the *Book*, Riccardo composed an emphatically polemic treatise, *Against the Law of the Saracens*⁸⁰ (c.1300). Despite his experiences in the East, Riccardo makes extensive use of earlier anti-Muslim polemical sources in this text.⁸¹ The work appears to be

⁷² George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, pp. x, xii.

⁷³ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 131; George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. xvi; Burman, 'Riccardo da Monte di Croce', p. 681.

⁷⁴ Burman, 'Riccardo da Monte di Croce', p. 681; George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, pp. xvi, 34-35. George-Tvrtkovic notes in *ibid.*, pp. 38-39, that while the intended audience for the letters is unclear, their theologically questionable content suggests they were not intended for the wider Church community.

⁷⁵ Burman, 'Riccardo da Monte di Croce', p. 682. See, for example, Riccardo da Montecroce, 'Five Letters on the Fall of Acre', pp. 141-142.

⁷⁶ Burman in 'Riccardo da Monte di Croce', p. 685, describes it as 'one of the most sympathetic [descriptions of Muslim religious practices] in Latin Christian literature'.

⁷⁷ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. xvi.

⁷⁸ See Prologue in Riccardo da Montecroce, 'The Book of Pilgrimage', p. 175.

⁷⁹ Burman, 'Riccardo da Monte di Croce', pp. 684-685. Riccardo states that he refers to the 'Saracen works of perfection, more to shame the Christians than to praise the Saracens': 'The Book of Pilgrimage', p. 211.

⁸⁰ Generally referred to as *Contra legem Sarracenorum*. Also known as *Disputatio contra Sarracenos et Alkorani*, *Antialkoranum Machometi* and *Impugnato Alkorani*: Jasper Hopkins, *A Miscellany on Nicholas of Cusa* (Minneapolis, 1994), p. 57. The only complete English translation, based on a German translation from Latin by Martin Luther, is 'Contra legem Saracenorum', in *Islam in the Crucible: Can it Pass the Test?*, trans. T. C. Pfotenhauer (English trans.) and Martin Luther (German trans.) (New Haven, 2002), pp. 9-125.

⁸¹ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 239; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 71; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 246, 251; Burman, 'Riccardo da Monte di Croce', p. 688; George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 27.

Riccoldo's solution to the dissonance in the other two works, between his professed admiration of Muslim praxis and his theory of Islam; his solution was to remove any mention of the Muslim 'works of perfection', and expand upon his criticisms of Islam set out in the *Book*.⁸²

The lives of the five authors which have been examined covered the entire period of the thirteenth century and encompassed much of the contemporary Western Christian world. As a group they experienced, to a lesser or greater extent, the various political, social and cultural developments outlined in Chapter 1. Equally important, their principal texts were written during a time when traditional approaches to the problem of Islam were being challenged. In the following chapter I explore what influence two particular factors, a crusading ideology promulgated by the papacy and Greco-Arab philosophy, had on the perceptions of each author about Islam and its adherents.

⁸² George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, pp. 70-71.

3. Perceptions of Islam and Muslims

It was noted in the Introduction that Norman Housley claims the need to motivate people to participate in crusade and to define the nature of the enemy led to the creation of a dominant picture of Islam and Muslims that was 'inaccurate, stereotypical, and lacking in humanity'.¹ While stressing that crusading ideology was diverse, nevertheless, he asserts that canon lawyers, popes, preachers and crusaders all subscribed to a set of core beliefs about Islam comprising three main tenets: a military perspective associated with the threat posed by Islamic rulers; a standard characterisation of Islam and its exponents; and the situation of Islam with respect to Christian eschatology.² Furthermore, he believes that Western Christians who engaged with Islam intellectually or experientially only did so from a Euro-centric perspective and formed judgements concerning it that were overall hostile.³

While not all five authors examined in this thesis actively preached crusade, all were members of religiously orthodox orders which were closely aligned to the papacy and utilised by successive popes from the 1230s to disseminate crusade propaganda, and at least four of them wrote about crusade.⁴ For these reasons it is not unreasonable to expect that if there was a dominant normative ideology characterised by the three core beliefs posited by Housley it would have been assimilated by the authors and reflected in their writing.

The analysis undertaken in this chapter is framed by reference to these three beliefs, and one further theme that arises in the work of several authors that concerns their attitudes toward Arab-Muslim philosophers. The reason for inclusion of this theme is that, as well as testing the universality of any normative ideology, I am interested in identifying contextual factors which may have influenced similarities and differences between the perceptions of the authors, which will be explored in Chapter 4: Greco-Arab philosophy appears to be one such factor.

¹ Norman Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), p. 189.

² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁴ Humbert of Romans, Gilbert of Tournai, Roger Bacon, Ramon Llull. Riccoldo da Montecroce does not explicitly discuss crusade in the examples of his writing that I have examined in this thesis.

Crusade or Conversion

Housley notes that the treatments given by canon lawyers and theologians to the military threat posed by Islam provide the most 'restrained and objective' perspectives of the rival religion. Rather than being motivated by need to inspire action, the main issue was deciding whether crusade represented "just war".⁵ The doctrine of just war required that war should not be waged for its own sake, but should be sanctioned by legitimate authority to redress loss or injury caused by an enemy.⁶ Crusading in the Holy Land was considered a just war on two grounds. First, due to it being the site of Christ's life and death, Palestine was considered sacred by Christians. Second, Palestine was considered part of the Church's patrimony from the Roman Empire.⁷ Accordingly, Islam was considered to be an assailant and unjust occupier of Christian land.⁸

The crusades can also be considered holy war: a 'war waged by spiritual power or fought under the auspices of a spiritual power and for religious interests'.⁹ The crusades were a hybrid of both holy war and just war.¹⁰ With increasing consciousness of the unity of Christendom, Islam was framed as its antithesis, which contributed a particular ferocity to crusade.¹¹ But crusade was not the only means conceived of by Western Christians to address the threat of Islam. During the thirteenth century there was also increasing attention given to mission and conversion.

Housley notes that up until recently there had been general agreement among historians that crusading and the increasing emphasis on conversion by the mendicants during the thirteenth century were contradictory, and that the latter came to supersede the former.¹² Historians now believe that attention given to conversion by Christian polemicists in the

⁵ Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 199.

⁶ Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), p. 62; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2005), pp. 30-31.

⁷ James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550* (Liverpool, 1979), pp. 6-7; Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 199.

⁸ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, p. 31; Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 199.

⁹ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Peace Never Established: The Case of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 28 (1978), pp. 88-89; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 66.

¹¹ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 117.

¹² Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 193.

thirteenth century was not incompatible with enthusiasm for crusading.¹³ It was under Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) that the linkage of crusade and conversion became normative. However, despite its influence, the 'Innocentian linkage' was not universally accepted; it was in the middle of a spectrum of attitudes.¹⁴

At one extreme was Humbert of Romans. Benjamin Kedar notes that in the *Three-Part Treatise* Humbert exhibits a more radical position on crusade than many of his contemporaries.¹⁵ In the treatise Humbert presents a range of arguments to justify crusade as both a holy and just war. He argues that Muslims needed to be opposed by force to defend Christianity against their hostility and the threat of apostasy.¹⁶ The Church also had the right to wield a sword against them because they were heretics and rebels, and they desecrated the holy places.¹⁷ Humbert argues that customary means of conversion will not sway Muslims:

[F]or the Saracens cut themselves off from the way of preaching, because...they behead every man who would want to preach to them anything against the law or sect of Muhammad. Likewise the time of miracles is not at present...Moreover, Christians' examples of holiness do not move the Saracens, because they prefer their [own practices]'.¹⁸

For these reasons Humbert believed that missions to convert Muslims ought to be abandoned – a *volte-face* from his position when master-general almost twenty years earlier.¹⁹ Humbert appears to have desired crusade to extend beyond the Holy Land, so 'the

¹³ Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 161; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 184; Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 193.

¹⁴ Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 159, 171.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 456-457.

¹⁷ Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 178-179; Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam in Medieval Europe', in David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1999), p. 67.

¹⁸ Humbert of Romans, 'Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum tripartitum*, ca.1272-1274', in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia, 2013), p. 457. My interpolation.

¹⁹ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 155; Bird et al., eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 456.

worship of God might be enlarged in their lands'²⁰ – an opinion shared by Ramon Llull.²¹ He did not accept the view, put forward by people like Bacon, that warfare lessens the possibility for conversion.²² But Humbert did argue for toleration toward Muslims who were subject to Christian rule.²³ Although he indicates a belief that crusade may provide conditions which facilitate spontaneous conversion, he does not appear to advocate forced conversion.²⁴ Humbert's response to critics of crusading in the *Three-Part Treatise* demonstrates that people were questioning the just nature of crusade. It is obvious that Humbert did not have such reservations, and accorded greater primacy to crusade than mission.

Similarly, by composing model sermons for preaching the cross, Gilbert of Tournai does not appear to have questioned the appropriateness of crusade. However, in case his audience was not convinced he raises the subject in Sermon 1, in which he states that soldiers rally and defeat their enemies:

when they see the king's sign: they regain their spirit and they dare not flee as the king is on the battlefield and their war is just. The war is just, because [it is fought] against the enemies of the faith, the usurpers of our patrimony, and for the sake of God.²⁵

Like Humbert, Gilbert appears to have construed crusade as both just and holy war. In the *Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae* he also advocates crusade, stating '[c]ertainly it is necessary that the Muhammadan sect should fall', and goes on to prescribe what he believes is required to undertake a successful crusade.²⁶

²⁰ Humbert of Romans, '*Opusculum tripartitum*', p. 459.

²¹ Antony Leopold, in *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2000), pp. 88-89, notes that Llull, like Humbert, argued for the capture of lands held by Muslims outside the Holy Land on the grounds of expediency to facilitate preaching.

²² Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 182.

²³ Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), p. 112.

²⁴ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 185-186; Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 89.

²⁵ Gilbert of Tournai, 'Gilbert of Tournai: Sermons I-III', in Christopher T. Maier, ed. and trans., *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 183, para. 12. Interpolation by Maier.

²⁶ Gilbert of Tournai, 'Gilbert of Tournai, On the Reform of the Crusade, ca.1272-1274', in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 454-455.

Unlike Humbert though, who is critical of Christian apathy toward crusade,²⁷ Gilbert's criticism is targeted at how the crusades have been (mis)managed.²⁸ But there is a further difference between the crusade perspectives of Humbert and his Franciscan contemporary: while Humbert focused on the threat posed by Islam to motivate his audience, Gilbert, particularly in his model sermons, appears to be more concerned with the moral dimensions of crusade as they pertain to wider Christian society. Gilbert does not address the issue of mission or conversion in his sermons, nor do they appear to be addressed in the *Collectio*,²⁹ however, as noted in Chapter 1, mission was central to the Franciscan ideal.

The influence of Franciscan belief is perhaps exemplified in the attitude of Roger Bacon to crusade and conversion. Bacon has in the past been regarded as a critic of crusade and, therefore, a pacifist, but his criticism is qualified.³⁰ While he supported the use of military force to retain the Holy Land, he was concerned about the way in which crusades were conducted and did not think that they were effective:³¹

Nor does war avail against them, since the Church is sometimes brought to confusion...and if Christians do conquer other lands, there is no one to defend the lands occupied. Nor are unbelievers converted in this way, but they are slain and sent to hell. The survivors of the wars and their sons are angered more and more against the Christian faith...and are inflamed to do Christians all possible evils.³²

Kedar explains that like most contemporary Christian thinkers, Bacon objected to forced conversion. He also rejected the view that war could prepare the way for conversion.³³

²⁷ Humbert of Romans, '*Opusculum tripartitum*', p. 458.

²⁸ Gilbert of Tournai, 'On the Reform of the Crusade', pp. 454-455.

²⁹ There are at least no references in the excerpts of this text which I have had access to.

³⁰ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 178; Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 69; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 196; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), p. 225; Alan Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Conversion of Muslims in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), pp. 18-19; Amanda Power, 'Roger Bacon', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 464. Palmer Throop is an example of a scholar who ascribes to the view that Bacon was essentially a pacifist due to his criticism of crusade: see Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 132-133,

³¹ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, Vol. 1 (New York, 1962), p. 112; Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 69; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463.

³² Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, p. 111. Kedar in *Crusade and Mission*, p. 177, notes that Bacon's position reflects one of the objections to crusade referred to by Humbert of Romans in the *Three-Part Treatise*, and the wording between the two sources is so similar that Kedar is confident that Humbert had Bacon's statement before him when he was writing.

³³ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 178.

Rather, Bacon argued in favour of the learning of languages, because it was only through preaching and philosophical argument that converts would be won.³⁴ In this respect there is similarity between Bacon's program for conversion and that promoted by Llull.³⁵

But Bacon was pragmatic; he was aware that preaching would not be successful in converting all infidels.³⁶ In Bacon's view, if they could not be converted then they should be defeated. This belief appears to have been central to Bacon's thinking about war and conversion;³⁷ he makes this clear in the introduction to the *Opus Maius*.³⁸ Power suggests that this attitude was due to Bacon's concern about infidel souls rather than aggression, and probably associated with his Franciscan vocation.³⁹ But Bacon clearly also believed in the use of knowledge to address threats to Christianity.⁴⁰ Scientific knowledge could be used to convert, not solely by argument, but by works to change the habits and dispositions of non-believers.⁴¹ Should such works also prove unsuccessful, Bacon advocated the use of science to destroy the enemies of the Church.⁴² Mastnak observes that while Bacon sought "universal peace",⁴³ it was a peace premised on the universal adoption of Christianity.⁴⁴ This attitude was something else that Bacon shared with Llull.

Kedar observes that it is not unusual that someone changes their opinion about how best to deal with the problem of Islam over time, as seen with Humbert. But he believes that

³⁴ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, pp. 110-112; Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 69; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 225. Bacon proposed that learned men be sent in advance of military expeditions to attempt to convert Muslims: Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, p. 112. Bacon's expectations of the value of rational argument in inter-faith debate, and his approach to it, appear to have been heavily influenced by William of Rubruck's account of his participation in such a debate at the court of the Mongol khan Mongke: Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 222-225; Robin Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York, 2009), pp. 29-30; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 464.

³⁵ Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 69; Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews*, p. 31.

³⁶ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, pp. 112-115; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 178; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 197, 203; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 464.

³⁷ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 178; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463.

³⁸ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, p. 3. Refer to the quotation provided in Chapter 2, n. 40 of this thesis.

³⁹ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 464.

⁴⁰ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 203-204; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463. It was necessary, according to Bacon, 'because [Antichrist] himself will employ the potency of science and will convert all things into evil': Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, p. 415.

⁴¹ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, Vol. 2 (New York, 1962), pp. 628, 632; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 205.

⁴² Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 2, p. 633; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 205.

⁴³ See, for example, Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, p. 110.

⁴⁴ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 196-197.

Ramon Llull's ability to have held so many different positions was exceptional.⁴⁵ In an early work, the *Libre de Contemplacio en Deu* (1271-1273), Llull rejects crusade for what Tolan believes sounds like a very Franciscan idea of mission,⁴⁶ and expresses a preference for preaching over crusade, believing that the failure of crusade was a sign that it did not please God:⁴⁷

I see many knights who go to the Holy Land...wanting to conquer it by force of arms, and in the end they are all brought to naught...As it seems, O Lord, that the Holy Sepulcher and the Holy Land beyond the sea should preferably be conquered by preaching rather than by force of arms.⁴⁸

However, in this same work he also argues for the use of coercion as a tool of conversion.⁴⁹ In the *Ars iuris* (1275-1281), Llull stipulates that should infidels refuse to hear preaching, war should be waged against them to compel them to accept Christianity.⁵⁰ In the *Doctrina pueril* (1282-1287), he states that some wise Muslims do not believe that Muhammad was a true prophet and might be easy to convert, and, in doing so, set an example to others.⁵¹ Still other variations on Llull's position appear in his novel, *Blanquerna* (1282-87), in which he attacks crusade through a tale which questions why Christians use force to conquer the Holy Land rather than follow the example of Jesus and the Apostles. But it also suggests enforced persuasion when necessary, and the use of force should infidels prevent the admission of preachers to their land.⁵²

Mastnak believes that it was due to a love of Muslims that Llull worked so obsessively to convert them, although he was no pacifist.⁵³ Kedar notes that in Llull's later years his writing would generally reflect support for a combination of mission and crusade, and occasionally

⁴⁵ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 189. See also Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 218-219.

⁴⁶ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 261.

⁴⁷ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 190.

⁴⁸ Llull goes on to state in the same passage that if crusading had been pleasing to God it would have been successful, indicating to Llull that 'the holy monks...can be sure and certain that should they throw themselves into martyrdom out of love for You, You shall hear them out in all they want to accomplish in this world in order to give praise to You': cited in *ibid.*, pp. 190-191, from *Llibre de Contemplacio en Deu* (Pla 2), Chap. 112, nos. 10-12, in *Obres de Ramon Llull*, 20 vols. (Palma de Mallorca, 1906-38), 4:58-59.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 191; Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 261. Kedar explains that Llull believed that Christians were empowered by Jesus to do so. For Llull it was 'like a child who had to recite his lesson out of fear of his teacher': cited in Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 191, from *Llibre de Contemplacio en Deu*, Chap. 346, no. 18.

⁵⁰ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 192.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

⁵³ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 218.

a preference for the former,⁵⁴ but Llull does not appear to have adopted different perspectives on crusade and mission at different stages of his life. He did not see them as alternatives; he considered crusade and mission to be different means to the same end, and tailored his arguments according to his audience.⁵⁵ Llull's approach was to use whatever was most expedient to achieve, like his confrere Bacon, his ultimate objective, peace in a wholly Christian world.⁵⁶

In the absence of clear evidence, it is necessary to speculate concerning the attitude of Riccoldo da Montecroce toward crusade and conversion. Riccoldo's travels demonstrate a commitment to mission, but his writing does provide further insight. In *Letters on the Triumph of the Church*, Riccoldo complains that neither St Dominic or St Francis, nor kings or barons have been able to destroy Islam.⁵⁷ Instead of calling for renewal of crusade or mission, Riccoldo appeals for divine assistance.⁵⁸ Sounding more Franciscan than Dominican, he beseeches the Virgin Mary 'to attend quickly to our miseries and strive quickly to put an end to the law...of Mahomet...; and obtain in your son's presence *the transformation of the Lord's anger into tranquillity and mercy, for both the Christians and the Saracens*'.⁵⁹ Riccoldo appears to be disillusioned with both and crusade and mission.

⁵⁴ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 195. Kedar notes that following the fall of Acre in 1291, Llull composed a series of texts in which he set out both the military and missionary tactics which were to be used to recover the Holy Land and convert the Saracens. In the *Vita coetanea*, Llull relates a proposal he presented to the Pisan community for the establishment of an order of religious knights 'devoted to doing continual battle against the treacherous Saracens for the recovery of the Holy Land': 'Vita coetanea', in Anthony Bonner, ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, trans. A. Bonner, Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1985), pp. 44-45, para. 42. Bonner in *ibid.*, p. 46, n. 173, notes that Llull presented a similar proposal, involving the fusion of the religious military orders, to a meeting of the General Council of the Church in 1311, an idea that he had been proposing for almost thirty years. Forey in 'The Military Orders', pp. 20-21, examines some of Llull's proposals concerning the use of force, particularly the role of military orders.

⁵⁵ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 224. Although, as observed by Tolan in *Saracens*, p. 257, Llull made no mention of crusade in the three projects he set for himself following his religious conversion.

⁵⁶ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, pp. 224-226. See also: Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 189; Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 70; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 257, 260.

⁵⁷ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Five Letters on the Fall of Acre (1291): Riccoldo of Montecroce of the Order of Preachers', in *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam*, trans. Rita George-Tvrtkovic (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 142-143.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 151, 165.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151. My emphasis. Riccoldo later asks the saints and heavenly court 'to deliver us from such misery [the rule of the Saracens]' and 'to show them that you [God] are the true God and father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, *for many among them sin more out of ignorance than wickedness*: *ibid.*, p. 165. My emphasis. In both passages it appears evident that Riccoldo accepts the common humanity of Christians and Muslims.

Riccoldo does express criticism of the violence of Islam in the *Book of Pilgrimage*, including the use of force to compel conversion.⁶⁰ But Daniel notes that Riccoldo also recalls the Gospel's prohibition against violence, and the fact that it is not 'an objection if certain bad Christians do not observe these things'.⁶¹ In this way, Riccoldo appears to be cognisant of the contradiction in the use of violence against Muslims by Christians.⁶² From this, it can be surmised that, if he was not against crusade, Riccoldo was at least against unnecessary use of violence for the purposes of conversion.

While all five authors were clearly concerned about the military threat posed by Islam, their responses to it differed considerably. It is evident that Humbert, Gilbert, Bacon and Llull - the latter two with some qualification - viewed crusade as just war, at least to the extent it pertained to protection of the Holy Land; but it is difficult to posit what Riccoldo's perspective was, although he appears to exhibit reservations about the use of violence. However, it is on the issue of mission and conversion that the differences between the authors are most evident. From actively supporting mission, Humbert later in life accorded greater importance to crusade to provide the necessary conditions for conversion, a view at times also promoted by Llull. While the influence of Franciscan belief on the attitude of Gilbert toward mission can only be inferred, it appears to be present in the perspective of Bacon. Bacon placed greater emphasis on mission, and was concerned with the impact of war on the prospects for conversion. Like Llull, he strongly advocated a program involving the learning of languages, preaching and rational argument to win converts, although Bacon appears to have more readily accepted its limits. Riccoldo too headed off to the Near East with a strong belief in the role of mission, but by the time of his return he appears disillusioned about the prospects of success against Islam, by either crusade or mission.

⁶⁰ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'The Book of Pilgrimage', pp. 223-224.

⁶¹ Cited in Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 125-126, from Riccoldo da Monte Croce, 'Itinerarium', in J. C. M. Laurent, ed., *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* (Leipzig, 1864). The passage in question does not appear in George-Tvrtkovic's translation of the *Book of Pilgrimage*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 127. Daniel in *ibid.*, p. 133, also highlights the originality of Riccoldo's perspectives on power and violence concerning Christianity's confrontation with Islam compared to his contemporaries.

An Image of the Enemy

Housley argues that ongoing crises in the Holy Land forced the papacy to adopt a more intolerant and subjective perspective on Islam and its adherents which was reflected in papal bulls, and which, in turn, informed crusade propaganda. Consequently, while there was always a variety of theological and legal ideas and perspectives, they were 'accompanied by a deeper, more emphatic, and cruder *imago inimici*'.⁶³ Following the characterisation provided by Pope Urban II in launching the First Crusade in 1095, Muslims were portrayed as 'aggressors', the 'enemy of the Christian religion', 'destroyers of churches and relics', and 'torturers, killers and enslavers of Christians'.⁶⁴

According to Housley, despite greater attention being given to the actual political and strategic situation in the Holy Land, even the later, more dispassionate bulls emphasised the threat from a relentlessly hostile Muslim enemy. Not wishing to engage with the true nature of Islam, and in order to discredit it, proponents of crusading sought to disparage Muhammad in whatever way they could,⁶⁵ through selective use, or misrepresentation of facts concerning his life.⁶⁶ In this interpretation, 'Muslims were heretics, apostates, pagans', and especially hedonists deceived by Muhammad.⁶⁷

This perspective is clearly evident in the work of Humbert. Cole notes that many of the glosses in *The Preaching of the Holy Cross* pertain to Muhammad and his followers, which are all disparaging.⁶⁸ They are also not particularly original.⁶⁹ In Cole's view the candid nature of Humbert's explanations reflect 'single-minded intractable hostility', and were integral to how Humbert conceived of the confrontation between Christianity and Islam.⁷⁰

⁶³ Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 200.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

⁶⁶ Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 66.

⁶⁷ Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 201.

⁶⁸ Penny J. Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, eds., *The Experience of Crusading*, Vol. 1: Western Approaches (Cambridge, 2003), p. 166. Examples cited by Cole, include: The 'dark mountain' referred to in Isaiah 13:2-3 is, in fact, 'Muhammad with his followers'; Muhammad is the agent of the devil; he is also one of the 'lying teachers' referred to in 2 Peter 2:1; and the Saracens are the 'contemporary Antichrists': see *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; Thomas E. Burman, 'Humbert of Romans', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 512.

⁷⁰ Cole, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 167. In the *Three-Part Treatise*, Humbert refers to Saracens as the 'spiritual enemies of God': Humbert of Romans, '*Opusculum tripartitum*', p. 465.

As discussed in the previous section, Humbert came to believe that it was not possible to convert Muslims.⁷¹ He maligned the Prophet as both a lawgiver and a spiritual leader, stating that he was only able to assert his leadership through the sword.⁷²

Humbert's own hostility is evident when he states: 'And although one might read many other iniquitous things about his life, nevertheless these two alone ought to satisfy every human heart, that the man, and after his death his image should be pelted with excrement'.⁷³ He then proceeds to critique Islamic law, claiming among other things that the Qur'an is proof of Muhammad's sexual degeneracy, identifying its treatment of concubinage and polygamy in particular.⁷⁴ Daniel comments on the schematic approach that Humbert adopted in his denigration of Muhammad.⁷⁵ Cole argues that while Humbert's attack on Muhammad and Islam may appear conventional in its use of profane histories and scripture, it demonstrates the care that Humbert took in constructing a case against Islam.⁷⁶ Humbert clearly articulated his purpose when he proposed the compilation of 'all efficacious arguments which can stir the hearts of Christians to aid Christendom against the Saracens'.⁷⁷ While Humbert is obviously critical of Muslims, he reserves his harshest criticism for Muhammad, whom he believed seduced them.⁷⁸

Gilbert's moderation contrasts with Humbert's vehemence. As noted in Chapter 2, the principal focus of model sermons was on the devotional and moral aspects of life, and, of course, we do not know how such sermons may have been elaborated upon. But what is surprising is that within Gilbert's three extant model crusade sermons there is only a single reference to Saracens. In Sermon I, Gilbert states:

⁷¹ See also Cole, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 167. References to Cole's comments concerning Humbert's beliefs associated with this footnote and nn. 72-74 below all relate to statements he makes in the *Three-Part Treatise*. Cole uses an unpublished Latin manuscript of the text, Vat. lat. 3847, fols. 5r, 5v, 6v, 7r.

⁷² Cole, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 167.

⁷³ Cited in *ibid.* Housley uses this outburst as an example of the level of vitriol that could be expressed against Muhammad, even by the most learned and eminent of clerics: Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', p. 202.

⁷⁴ Cole, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 168. See also Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 169.

⁷⁵ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 71.

⁷⁶ Cole, 'Humbert of Romans', pp. 168-169.

⁷⁷ Humbert of Romans, '*Opusculum tripartitum*', pp. 463-464. See also the discussion concerning the *Three-Part Treatise* in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁷⁸ He not only seduced them but established their law specifically to destroy Christendom: Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 178.

Thus, if you are a good friend of God, remember the disgrace which the enemies of the cross of Christ caused Christ, when they put their sacrilegious hands on the holy city of Jerusalem, where the Christians are slaves to the Saracens, where there are no more sacraments of Christ, where the name of Christ is blasphemed, where the idol of abomination, that is the name of Mohammad, continues to be exalted and honoured.⁷⁹

In the *Collectio*, what is striking is how Gilbert is more concerned with admonishing Christians for the loss of the Holy Land. He sees successive Christian failures 'as the price of our sins'.⁸⁰ Once again, his criticism of Muslims is muted. He refers to how the Holy Land 'has been handed over to strangers, our home to foreigners', and labels Muslims 'the enemies of the cross of Christ, who loath the Lord'.⁸¹ In neither text does Humbert demonise either Muslims or Islam in a similar vein to Humbert, his language is more restrained. But his criticism, particularly in Sermon I, is also formulaic. It utilises the traditional characterisation of Muslims being idolators, and in many ways is reminiscent of a more moderate version of the characterisation presented by Urban II in 1095, and, similarly, is less concerned with Muhammad than with Muslims generally.

While new, generally hostile, perspectives on Islam presented by his Dominican contemporary, Marti, were informed by Marti's interpretation of Arab texts,⁸² Bacon's

⁷⁹ Gilbert of Tournai, 'Sermons I-III', p. 187, para. 17.

⁸⁰ Gilbert of Tournai, 'On the Reform of the Crusade', p. 454.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² John Tolan notes that, for Marti, Muhammad is a one of the false prophets described by Jesus. This is the central organising premise of his anti-Muslim work, *On the Sect of Muhammad*; but Marti is careful to restrict his criticism to Muhammad and his law, sparing Arab philosophers, whose work he enlists, along with Muslim doctrine, to construct his arguments: John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008), pp. 38-40. See also n. 136 in this chapter. In Tolan's view, while, unlike the work of earlier polemicists, the biographical details provided by Marti accord relatively well with Arab sources, the way in which Marti utilises these details shows an unshakeable hostility towards Muhammad and Muslim laws: Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 238; Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, pp. 40-41. See also Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (London, 1975), p. 239. Daniel also comments on the selective use and misrepresentation of material in Marti's work. It should be noted that while *On the Sect of Mohammad* is discussed by Daniel, he attributes the text to another author. The text's authorial provenance appears to have since been resolved in Marti's favour. Very few scholars, other than Daniel and Tolan, at least in the English literature, appear to have studied Marti's anti-Muslim polemics, although references to this work can be found in studies of his more extensive, and later corpus of anti-Jewish polemic, for example, see: Ryan Wesley Szpiech, 'Translation, Transcription, and Transliteration in the Polemics of Raymond Marti, O.P.', in Charles D. Wright and Karen Fresco, eds., *Translating in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 334-363; and Ryan Wesley Szpiech, 'The Aura of an Alphabet: Interpreting the Hebrew Gospels in Ramon Marti's *Dagger of Faith* (1278)', *Numen*, 61 (2014), pp. 171-187.

attitudes towards the religion appear to have been influenced by astrology.⁸³ In Part 4 of the *Opus Maius*, Bacon associates Islam with the planet Venus, 'which is wholly voluptuous and lascivious' and in which 'a delight in sin abounds'.⁸⁴ In Part 7 he discusses the relative merits of the religions of the world and how to convert them to Christianity.⁸⁵ It is here that he describes Muhammad as morally depraved and Muslims as being too preoccupied in worldly pleasure:⁸⁶ 'the lawgiver of this sect was most depraved in his life; for he was a wicked adulterer';⁸⁷ and 'with Mahomet many sins are allowed, as is evident in the Koran, and no perfection of life is observed, since they are absorbed in sensual pleasures'.⁸⁸ However, Bacon's assessment is more balanced than Marti's. He states his belief that Islam and Judaism are more rational than idolatry, paganism and the religion of the Tartars, and acknowledges Muslims accept some Christian beliefs and practices.⁸⁹

Mastnak notes that Bacon's general characterisation of Islam and Muslims was conventional, and the aim of his study of religions had one purpose, and that was to prove the superiority of Christianity.⁹⁰ However, Bacon does demonstrate ambivalence towards Muslims. As Power observes, he considers them dangerous, duplicitous, and deluded, but also allies against polytheism, potential converts and victims of inappropriate Christian aggression.⁹¹ Furthermore, he admired the works of the great Arab-Muslim philosophers,⁹² and, as with Marti, they play a key role in Bacon's arguments concerning Islam.⁹³

⁸³ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 462. Tolan in *Saracens*, p. 226, notes that Bacon's association of Saracens with Venus is not unusual, as it is also evident in the writings of other authors of the period.

⁸⁴ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, pp. 278, 284.

⁸⁵ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 462.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 463. Tolan in *Saracens*, p. 226, states that while it is predictable that Bacon was so disparaging of Muhammad in terms of claims of feigned prophecy, false miracles, and adultery, not even the most malicious of earlier Christian critics accuse him of rape. See Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 2, p. 811, concerning this accusation.

⁸⁷ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 2, p. 811.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 814.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 807, 810-814; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463.

⁹⁰ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 208. See also: Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 2, p. 807; and Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 465.

⁹¹ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463. See also the discussion on Bacon in the section on Crusade or Conversion in this chapter.

⁹² *Ibid.* Bacon refers extensively to the work of Muslim philosophers in the *Opus Maius*, including Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroës, as well as the astrologer Albumazar, and treats them with the same respect he accords Aristotle and other classical philosophers and learned sources. See, for example, *Opus Majus*, trans. Robert Belle Burke, Vols. 1 & 2 (New York, 1962), pp. 15-16, 196-197, 804-805.

⁹³ See, for example, Bacon's use of the work of Alfarabi in the *Opus Majus*, Vol. 2, pp. 811-813.

In the case of Llull, ambivalence toward Islam and Muslims is much more evident. In the *Doctrina pueril* he criticises Muhammad's life in a manner similar to that used in other Christian polemics.⁹⁴ He depicts Muhammad as a false prophet: to attract people to the faith he promises them material pleasure in heaven; and, claims that the Qur'an was divinely revealed to him. Further, he was violent, lived a life of excess, had many wives and mistresses, and brought loyalty with money.⁹⁵ But Alexander Fidora also argues that it is evident that Llull takes care to present what he believes is the correct historical identity of Muhammad, rather than relying on tradition.⁹⁶

In contrast, in the *Book of the Gentile* Llull does not openly denigrate Islam or Muslims. As noted by Tolan, Llull does not attack (at least blatantly) either Muhammad or the Qur'an.⁹⁷ The closest Llull comes to attacking Muhammad is when the Saracen character admits that 'Mohammed was an uneducated man who could not read or write'.⁹⁸ The most significant criticism of Islam made by the Gentile concerns the Muslim conception of Paradise.⁹⁹ The Saracen states: 'We believe that there are two ways in which we will enjoy the glory of Paradise; one is spiritual glory and the other physical glory'.¹⁰⁰ The Saracen proceeds to describe what a person will experience in Paradise. The Gentile then responds to the Saracen's account, questioning why man should have such glory in Paradise if his 'ultimate purpose...is to have glory in God'.¹⁰¹ The Saracen's response to these issues is somewhat perfunctory. Allison Peers observes that 'Llull makes much of Moslem ideas on Paradise and

⁹⁴ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 127.

⁹⁵ Harvey Hames, 'Ramon Llull', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 706.

⁹⁶ Alexander Fidora, 'Ramon Llull's *Doctrina Pueril*: Approaching Religion from a Historical Point of View', *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, 16 (2011), p. 151. Fidora sees Llull's efforts in this respect as part of a wider phenomenon whereby dialogue with, and polemic against, representatives of other faiths during the Middle Ages required Christian theologians and philosophers to reconsider traditional perspectives on the historical and cultural dimensions of religion.

⁹⁷ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 265-266.

⁹⁸ Ramon Llull, 'The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men', in Anthony Bonner, ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, trans. A. Bonner, Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1985), pp. 263, 265.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265, 288-292. The latter section provides a more detailed discussion of the nature of Paradise, and it is where the Gentile presents his objections.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

of their materialism...evidently considering it to be one of the most vulnerable characteristics of the Saracen's creed'.¹⁰²

Llull's undermining of Islam is far more subtle in the *Book of the Gentile* than that of any other author examined in this thesis. However, in a later work, the *Liber de Fine* written in 1305, which Tolan characterises as a summation of Llull's work, a reflection on the failure of his ideas and a plea for someone to listen to him, there is a marked change: while still promoting the use of positive arguments, he also adopts the Dominican strategy and openly attacks Muhammad and the Qur'an.¹⁰³

Such conflicted perspectives are also evident in the work of Riccoldo. The *Letters on the Triumph of the Church* and the *Book of Pilgrimage* reveal Riccoldo as someone who admired aspects of Islam and Muslim religious practice, but who struggled to understand why Muslims were triumphant over Christians. It is Riccoldo who provides the most personal insight into perceptions concerning Muslims. The *Letters* and the *Book* include the standard arguments against Islam, but there is also significant ambivalence. In both texts he praises Muslim praxis yet claims Islam is perfidious, praises the beauty of the Qur'an's Arabic, but criticises it for its violence and mendacity, ponders the possibility that Islam's eschatological claims are true while arguing the superiority of Christianity.¹⁰⁴ But Rita George-Tvrtkovic believes that it is more than ambivalence; in the *Letters* Riccoldo admits to being bewildered:¹⁰⁵ 'In the midst of this great sadness [concerning the fate of Acre], I was suddenly seized by a strange wonder. I was stupefied in thinking about God's judgement concerning world governance, and most especially concerning Saracens and Christians'.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Cited in *ibid.*, p. 264, n. 211, from E. Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull: A Biography* (London, 1929). See also Hames, 'Ramon Llull', p. 710.

¹⁰³ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 270.

¹⁰⁴ Rita George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout, 2012), p. x. See also Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 245-251.

¹⁰⁵ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. x.

¹⁰⁶ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Five Letters on the Fall of Acre', p. 138. My interpolation. Riccoldo in 'The Book of Pilgrimage', p. 211, also admits that after studying Muslim law and praxis 'we were stupefied to discover how – with a law of such perfidy – works of great perfection can be found' – an expression of surprise, perhaps, more than bewilderment.

George-Tvrtkovic notes that the *Book* as a whole is not sympathetic toward Islam and it includes a form of the arguments Riccoldo uses against it in *Against the Law of the Saracens*:¹⁰⁷ 'In sum, the law of the Saracens is lax, confused, obscure, exceedingly mendacious, irrational and violent'.¹⁰⁸ But, significantly, Riccoldo's criticism is preceded by praise for Muslim practices, which he refers to as 'works of perfection':¹⁰⁹ 'studiousness, devotion in prayer mercy towards the poor, reverence for the name of God and his prophets and holy places, dignified behaviour, friendliness to foreigners, and concord and mutual love'.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, unlike many of his contemporaries, he provides original details about Islam on its own terms.¹¹¹ He appears aware that his account contradicts his claim that Islam is a false religion but does not attempt to address the inconsistency.¹¹² Intriguingly, in the *Letters*, following a discussion in which he examines the deficiencies in Christianity, Judaism and Islam, and beseeches the Virgin Mary to 'give to Christians the works of perfection, to Jews works and understanding of the law, and to Saracens the law and understanding of it',¹¹³ he justifies his request on the basis '[t]hey should know, I say, because they are human beings, that all would experience your assistance'.¹¹⁴ For Riccoldo, Muslims appear to have been more than potential converts, they were also human beings.

¹⁰⁷ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 48. See also Burman, 'Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', p. 684. However, as observed by George-Tvrtkovic in *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, pp. 66-67, ambivalence towards Muslim praxis is also evident in the last chapter of *Against the Law of the Saracens*, where after an extensive polemic against Islam, and despite claiming that the law of the Qur'an is easier to uphold, Riccoldo acknowledges that it also contains strict demands. But having stated this, he then claims that few Muslims fulfil these requirements: see Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Contra legem Saracenorum', in *Islam in the Crucible: Can it Pass the Test?*, trans. T. C. Pfotenhauer (English trans.) and Martin Luther (German trans.) (New Haven, 2002), p. 124. It is worth noting that Christopher MacEvitt in a review of George-Tvrtkovic's book, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, questions the validity of the chronology of the texts used by her by which she concludes that *Against the Law of the Saracens* provides a resolution of the problem of the dissonance in Riccoldo's views about Islam and Muslim practice. While acknowledging it is not unreasonable to adopt this chronology, he states there is little evidence for it, and wonders how much it shapes the way in which the texts are read and what other conclusions might be reached if it was abandoned: Christopher MacEvitt, 'George-Tvrtković, Rita. A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam', *The Medieval Review*, 2014-09 (2014), p. 1 of 2.

¹⁰⁸ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'The Book of Pilgrimage', p. 216.

¹⁰⁹ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 48.

¹¹⁰ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'The Book of Pilgrimage', p. 211.

¹¹¹ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 49.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹¹³ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Five Letters on the Fall of Acre', pp. 150-151.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151. Furthermore, in *ibid.*, p. 140, Riccoldo states that through following a false prophet like Muhammad, 'they are no longer called Saracens but Muslims'; evidence that their denigration was not due to their culture or ethnicity, but rather their religion. See n. 3 in the Introduction of this thesis.

It is evident that all five authors perceived of Islam as the enemy of Christianity, but the way in which they responded to it varied significantly. Humbert and Bacon, focussed their attack on Islam through Muhammad, whom they viewed as a false prophet and a sexual degenerate. Llull too argued that Muhammad was a false prophet, and condemned the materialism he believed was inherent in Islamic belief. But instead of denigrating Muhammad, Riccoldo principally attacked Muslim law, and Gilbert moderately criticised Muslims generally. Aside from Gilbert, Muslims were not the main targets for denigration by the authors; instead they demonstrate varying degrees of ambivalence towards them. While Humbert was only prepared to admit they had been seduced by Muhammad, Bacon, Llull and Riccoldo all demonstrated conflicting attitudes concerning them: for Bacon Muslims were not only potential converts but also allies, as well as victims of Christian aggression; Llull presents Muslims as well-mannered and rational; and Riccoldo praises their works of perfection. Furthermore, Bacon clearly admired the work of Arab-Muslim philosophers, and they also played an important role in the work of Llull.

While not all the authors sought to specifically disparage Muhammad, they did selectively use, or misrepresent, facts concerning the Prophet, Islam or Muslims to undermine them, and in this respect this element of Housely's argument is supported. However, rather than not wishing to engage with the true nature of Islam, both Llull and Riccoldo did seek greater understanding of Islam *qua* Islam. While the depth of Bacon's interest in Islam is questionable, he did attempt to understand it on terms other than those presented in existing authorities,¹¹⁵ and made extensive use of Arab-Muslim sources. In doing so, as also demonstrated in the preceding section, the engagement of these three friars with Islam, Muslim society or Arab-Muslim philosophy appears to have had a profound effect on their appreciation of Muslims.

Redeeming the Enemy

As discussed in Chapter 1, the thirteenth century saw an increasing assimilation of Greco-Arab philosophy into Western Christian thought, and Arab-Muslim culture was also providing other new insights. People read and admired these works, but they were also

¹¹⁵ See the section on Bacon in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

aware that the authors were not Christian.¹¹⁶ As has been shown, mendicant friars were seeking to prove the irrationality of Islam at the same time the new knowledge derived from Arab scholars was entering the European universities, and it was being incorporated into the works of these authors.¹¹⁷ Tolan notes that this created a problem for Christian authors - what Frunzeanu refers to as the 'medieval cultural paradox'¹¹⁸ - because it presented a major impediment to affirming the rationality of Christianity: if Christianity was more rational than Islam, why did so many Arabic scholars not accept its truth?¹¹⁹

To overcome this inconsistency Arab works were rarely acknowledged as originating from the Islamic world and identification of the faith of their writers was avoided;¹²⁰ a distinction was made between the terms *Sarraceni* and *Arabes*.¹²¹ Furthermore, authors such as Bacon, Llull and Riccoldo distorted the scholars' own views to claim they did not, in fact, accept the doctrines of Islam; if Muslims were irrational due to their failure to accept the truth of Christianity, Arab philosophers must either be crypto-Christians, or otherwise reject Islamic law.¹²²

Bacon sought to demonstrate the irrationality of Islam by focussing on its belief in the sensual pleasures available in the afterlife. To do so, he selectively applies Avicenna's reservations concerning bodily resurrection:¹²³ 'For Avicenna says...that Mahomet offered only a glorification of our bodies, not of our souls, except in so far as the soul shares in the enjoyment of the body'.¹²⁴ While identifying Islamic notions of the afterlife which Avicenna rejects, he fails to acknowledge that Avicenna also rejected Christian beliefs.¹²⁵ Bacon goes

¹¹⁶ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 114.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

¹¹⁸ Eduard Frunzeanu, 'Vincent of Beauvais', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 114.

¹¹⁹ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 114.

¹²⁰ Daniel G. König, 'Medieval Western Perceptions of the Islamic World: From 'Active Othering' to the 'Voices in Between'', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), p. 23.

¹²¹ Frunzeanu, 'Vincent of Beauvais', p. 411. See also: Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, pp. 270-272; and Moran Cruz, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Islam', p. 65.

¹²² Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 241; Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. xvi. Daniel in *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p. 243, observes that Muslim philosophers were generally disassociated from controversial religious issues, except in relation to discussion of the afterlife.

¹²³ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 123.

¹²⁴ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 2, p. 801.

¹²⁵ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, pp. 123-124.

on to imply that Avicenna is only one among many learned Muslims who secretly reject Islam:¹²⁶ 'For Avicenna and other philosophers contradict the rank and file and the priests... And they decide that the sect will soon be destroyed'.¹²⁷

Focussing on the same issues concerning the afterlife, in the *Book of the Gentile* Llull conveys through his Muslim character a condemnation of Islam when he states:

It is true that there are differing beliefs among us with respect to the glory of Paradise, for some believe it will be as I said, and this they take from a literal interpretation of the Qur'an...but there are others among us who take this glory morally and interpret it spiritually...And these men are natural philosophers and great scholars, yet they are men who in some ways do not follow too well the dictates of our religion, and that is why we consider them as heretics.¹²⁸

Like Bacon, Llull (mis)uses differences in the views of Muslim scholars to highlight the irrationality of Islam, which must suppress intellectual activity in order to secure its survival.¹²⁹ Tolan notes that Llull makes this point even more emphatically in the *Doctrina pueril* in which he outlines the reasons why learned men cannot help but see that Muhammad is not a prophet.¹³⁰

In the *Book of Pilgrimage*, while Riccoldo initially praises Muslim learning and piety, he goes on to state:

And when their sages began to curse the perversity of his law openly and when the law could be refuted by the books of the prophets, the book of Moses, and the truthful books of the philosophers, the Caliph of Baghdad commanded that nothing could be studied in Baghdad except the Qur'an...Nevertheless, their sages put no faith in the sayings of the Qur'an. In secret they deride it, but in public they honour it.¹³¹

As with Bacon and Llull, Riccoldo sets Muslim scholars in opposition to Islam because of their claimed understanding of its deficiencies, but this idea seems to contradict his earlier

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹²⁷ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol 2., p. 803.

¹²⁸ Ramon Llull, 'The Book of the Gentile', p. 292. Bonner notes in *ibid.* n. 27, that Louis Sala-Molins believes that this opinion concerning the spiritual nature of Paradise was held by Avicenna, al-Ghazzali and al-Farabi, and that Llull also seems to be referring to al-Ghazzali's attack on philosophers for relying too much on logic and natural science.

¹²⁹ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 127.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

¹³¹ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'The Book of Pilgrimage', p. 221.

admiration for Muslims.¹³² He appears to recognise a contradiction, and in *Against the Law of the Saracens* Riccoldo clarifies the situation by revealing that the madrasas which he admired in the *Book* are in fact a means to ensure that only the Qur'an is taught.¹³³

Tolan notes that Bacon, Llull and Riccoldo, as well as Marti, all claimed that Islam was irrational, while arguing for the rational superiority of Christianity, and they did so by creating similar images.¹³⁴ He reasonably asserts that it was necessary for them 'to relegate the religious other to the realm of the irrational' to support their belief in the rationality of their own religion. However, he goes on to conclude that having isolated Arab philosophers from Islam 'they could be studied and admired without upsetting the supposed rational basis of Christianity'.¹³⁵ Nowhere else in his discussion does he mention this as an aim of any of the four authors, although I believe that this was certainly true in the case of Bacon. For Llull and Riccoldo, the distancing of Arab scholars from Islam appears to have served the principal purpose of supporting their case for the irrationality of Islam.¹³⁶ However, for Bacon, it served another, perhaps more important, purpose.

Bacon stated that '[p]hilosophy belongs in an especial sense to unbelievers, since we have derived all our philosophy from them'.¹³⁷ According to Power, the need to acquire the intellectual knowledge of the Muslim world is the most dominant theme in Bacon's writings.¹³⁸ While Bacon, like his contemporaries, co-opted the work of Muslim writers to support the superiority of Christianity,¹³⁹ Power remarks that he 'wrote of their learning with an admiration sometimes bordering on awe'.¹⁴⁰ I agree with Mastnak when he suggests that through justifying the use of non-Christian philosophy for the purpose of conversion of

¹³² Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 129.

¹³³ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Contra legem Saracenorum', p. 95; Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 130-130.

¹³⁴ Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, pp. 131-132.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹³⁶ From my research into his work, this also appears to have been the case with Marti.

¹³⁷ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 2, p. 793.

¹³⁸ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463.

¹³⁹ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol 2., pp. 793-794; R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 59-60; Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463; Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 200.

¹⁴⁰ Power, 'Roger Bacon', p. 463. John Bridges comments on how Bacon speaks of the Arabic philosophers whose work informed his own, how his admiration for them is evident and notes Bacon's view that they are a treasure that his contemporaries should regard as their duty to increase in value for their posterity 'unless they are dolts and asses': John Bridges, 'Introduction', in John. H. Bridges, ed., *The 'Opus Majus' of Roger Bacon*, Vol. 1 (London, 1900), p. xci.

infidels, Bacon was also seeking to legitimise his use of such sources for the purposes of his own scientific and philosophical studies.¹⁴¹

Islam and the Antichrist

Housley states that the incorporation of Islam into Christian eschatology, whereby Islam was viewed a primary agent of the Antichrist, was a prominent feature of crusade ideology. The association explained Muslim hostility to Christians and their supposed addiction to sensual pursuits, and contributed to a process of dehumanisation of Muslims. This view acquired greater urgency from the late twelfth century, and was reinforced when Pope Innocent III associated Islam with the beast of Revelation when launching the Fifth Crusade. The importance of the association escalated further with the discovery of texts which foretold of the downfall of Islam at the time when rumours were received of Mongol attacks in the East, which appeared to confirm Innocent's assessment.¹⁴²

In *The Preaching of the Holy Cross* Humbert glosses Muslims as the 'contemporary Antichrists'.¹⁴³ In the *Three-Part Treatise* he uses the trope to highlight the threat posed by Islam and the need for Christians to embrace crusade. He associates Muslims with one of the seven heads of the beast of the Apocalypse, and claims that they are the most perilous, because Muhammad had specifically established their law to achieve the destruction of Christianity, and Islam was the only one that remained a threat.¹⁴⁴ Gilbert also makes a brief eschatological reference to Islam in his *Collectio*, stating that: 'Certainly it is necessary that the Muhammadan sect should fall and that the scarlet beast should rush to its ruin. But let him who has knowledge reckon the number of the beast'.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Mastnak, *Crusading Peace*, p. 200.

¹⁴² Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', pp. 202-203. See also Chapter 1 of this thesis, esp. nn. 4-5 concerning the Fifth Crusade and rumours concerning the Mongols at this time.

¹⁴³ Cole, 'Humbert of Romans', p. 166. Cole uses an unpublished Latin manuscript of the text, Clm 26810, fol. 213r.

¹⁴⁴ Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 178. Brett's source is *Opusculum tripartitum*, in Ortuin Gratius, *Fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, 2: Appendix ad...(London, 1690), Pt. 1, chaps. 4-5, pp. 186-187. For the scriptural reference, see *Douay-Rheims Bible*, ed. Richard Challoner (Baltimore, 1899), The Apocalypse of St John (Revelation) 17:16.

¹⁴⁵ Gilbert of Tournai, 'On the Reform of the Crusade', p. 454. For the scriptural reference, see *Douay-Rheims Bible*, The Apocalypse of St John (Revelation) 13:18, 17:11-10.

Riccoldo's eschatological references concerning Islam are more extensive, but more oblique. In the *Letters* in an appeal to God he exclaims: 'And you have given horns to such a beast [Islam], so that he may conquer the world, kill your saints, and force them under torture to deny the faith!'¹⁴⁶ Shortly after he states: 'Truly I believe that the worst days are approaching, those which you who are truth prophesied'.¹⁴⁷ He then refers to Muhammad as manifested through his law, as the 'beast' on several occasions thereafter.¹⁴⁸ In the *Book of Pilgrimage*, Riccoldo implies Muslims were precursors to Antichrist when in a discussion concerning miracles he states that miracles have been attributed to certain Muslim religious men, but then explains that the only miraculous 'signs they can perform are those which the antichrist, and precursors to the antichrist, can perform'.¹⁴⁹

While Bacon states that the 'law of Antichrist' will follow the destruction of the 'law of Mahomet',¹⁵⁰ he does not connect the two by identifying Muhammad as an agent of the Antichrist. Tolan confirms that, unlike many other authors, Bacon did not claim that Muhammad was an agent of the devil.¹⁵¹ Similarly, I could not locate any eschatological references concerning Islam made by Llull in either the primary sources available to me, or in the secondary literature.

Only three of the authors made any eschatological reference concerning Islam. Even then, they are minimal within the context of the texts to which they relate, and may simply have been included for rhetorical purposes rather than from a strong sense of conviction. The lack of attention to the issue suggests that the eschatological link was not a significant one for the authors. This supports Southern's contention, that, with the exception of Pope Innocent III, Islam played no role in mainstream Western Christian thinking about the Apocalypse in the thirteenth century.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Five Letters on the Fall of Acre', p. 141.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143, 153.

¹⁴⁹ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'The Book of Pilgrimage', p. 226; Burman, 'Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', p. 682.

¹⁵⁰ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Vol. 1, p. 289. See also Vol. 2, pp. 644-645.

¹⁵¹ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 226, 228. Tolan believes that this omission is significant because it indicates that Bacon based his theory of religion on what he had learned from reading Greco-Arabic works and the descriptions of other faiths provided by William of Rubruck, not on biblical references: *ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁵² Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 42. While the genres which are examined in this thesis extend beyond model sermons, it is also interesting to note that David D'Avray discusses 'two good studies' published in 1989 which found that there was little explicit articulation of papal doctrine in thirteenth-century model sermons.

The analysis undertaken in this chapter has demonstrated five things. First, all five authors appear to have accepted that a military confrontation with Islam was necessary and crusade was just war. However, Bacon and Llull placed greater emphasis on conversion than crusade, and, despite his obvious disillusionment, Riccoldo could also be placed in this camp. Second, all the authors selectively used or misrepresented facts to malign Muhammad, Islam, and, in the case of Gilbert, Muslims. Nevertheless, Llull, Riccoldo and Bacon did genuinely engage with Arab-Muslim culture to obtain greater understanding of it, although Bacon's reasons for doing so were not restricted to countering Islam. Third, the close engagement of the latter three authors with various manifestations of the Muslim world appears to have had a profound effect on their perceptions of Muslims, engendering greater understanding and respect for them. Fourth, a strong eschatological link with Islam is not demonstrated in the work of the authors. Finally, Bacon, Llull and Riccoldo all attempted to redeem the reputations of Arab-Muslim philosophers. Ostensibly, this was to legitimise the use of their work to attack Islam, but, at least in the case of Bacon, it was also associated with a deep admiration for their work and its contribution to his quest for knowledge.

The outcomes from the analysis paint a different picture for this group of friars compared to the one provided by Housley. Although they may have engaged with Islam from a largely Euro-centric viewpoint, their judgements of Islam, but particularly of Muslims, were not always hostile. George-Tvrtkovic notes that one of the common assumptions about medieval Christian attitudes towards Islam was that they were invariably intolerant. As she demonstrated in her own examination of Riccoldo, this is certainly not always so; responses could be much more complex and ambiguous.¹⁵³ Reasons why this may be the case are explored in the following chapter.

This fact may indicate the constraints which existed for the promulgation of any papal-inspired normative ideology during the period: D. L. D'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons', in Nicole Bériou and David. L. D'Avray, eds., *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), p. 15.

¹⁵³ George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, p. 136.

4. The Influence of Ideology and Context

In the Introduction I referred to a methodology that has been proposed by Daniel König as a means to obtain greater macro-historical perspective on interreligious perceptions, and overcome the problems of generalisation and stereotyping. König suggests first defining the patterns of perception of individuals and groups from statements made or attributed to them in texts. He highlights the fact that the nature of both the subject and object of perception can change over time due to changes in personal and geopolitical context. König then proposes the comparison of variants in statements to provide insight into the range of different perceptions. According to König, this method can be used to compare the perceptions of different “functional” roles in a comparable context of encounter, or how perceptions vary according to changes in context for comparable functional roles. Comparing the testimonies provided in different texts concerning specific “subjects” and “objects” of perception enables the researcher to identify the different contexts and context-dependent relationships that facilitate particular variants of perception. Through this process, what can be reconstructed are not generalities, but rather ranges that apply to specific “subjects of perception” concerning their views on particular “objects of perception” with respect to a specific time, place and context.¹

In this chapter I apply König’s approach to examine the perceptions of Islam and Muslims (the objects of perception) of a group of essentially contemporaneous Christian authors with similar functional roles, that is, mendicant friars (the subjects of perception) in the latter half of the thirteenth century. By doing so, I hope to discern the relative influence of ideology and other factors in shaping their perceptions. However, rather than discrete statements, I shall focus on similarities, differences and contradictions in the broader expression of perception evident from the analysis presented in the preceding chapter.

One contradiction that was identified concerned Humbert of Romans. As master-general of the Dominican Order he actively supported missionary activity. However, following his

¹ Daniel G. König, 'Muslim Perception(s) of "Latin Christianity": Methodological Reflections and a Reevaluation', *Comparativ: Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und Vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung*, 20 (2010), pp. 23-30.

retirement he rejected mission as an effective means to address the problem of Islam. This was not an ideological response, but due to factors which resonated with Humbert. As discussed in Chapter 3, and as exemplified by the perspectives of the other authors, crusade and mission were not necessarily considered incompatible. Although critical of Muslims for their obstinate rejection of Christianity, and unequivocally hostile toward Muhammad, as a Dominican friar Humbert's change of heart is still surprising. However, as noted in Chapter 2, Humbert was writing during a period in which Western Christianity experienced the failure of both of Louis IX's crusades, the loss of significant territory in the Holy Land, and when crusading had become deeply unpopular. I suggest that Humbert, frustrated with the failure of proselytism, concerned with the potential loss of the Holy Land, and freed from his organisational responsibilities, took on the task of promoting crusade as the only viable option to defend Christian interests against what he perceived was unrestrained Muslim aggression against Christianity.²

Whereas Humbert was openly hostile toward Islam, Gilbert of Tournai expressed his condemnation of Muslims in a more moderate way. Gilbert was obviously concerned about the threat to the Holy Land posed by Islam, but he appears to have been more concerned with the moral challenges for Christian society arising from the confrontation. His concern in this regard appears to be more ideological than circumstantial. He was of a similar age to Humbert, and while Gilbert was a noted moralist of his day, both he and Humbert were prominent members of the pastoral reform movement and could be expected to have shared similar moral concerns. The sermon related texts of Humbert and Gilbert do exemplify the two different approaches to promoting crusade identified by Maier,³ but

² Robin Vose in *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (New York, 2009), pp. 49-50, similarly advances the possibility that Humbert's change in 'tone and attitude' may be due to disillusionment or a 'shift from public to private speech'.

³ Christoph T. Maier explains in *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 116-117, that one approach was to focus on the penitential and devotional aspects to 'create feelings of contrition, shame, and compassion', while the other way was to inspire 'anger, rage, and aggression toward the enemy'. The former idea developed following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187: the disaster was seen as a sign of God's displeasure. According to Bird et al., the letter, *Audita tremendi*, issued by Pope Gregory VIII in 1187, not only inspired the Third Crusade, but also had a longer term impact: 'It inspired moral theologians to consider the needs of the Holy Land and to link these to the moral regeneration of Europe' which emerged as one the most significant themes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2013), p. 4. See also Penny J. Cole, David L. D'Avray, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Application of Theology to Current Affairs:

above all, I believe that the differences in their treatment of Islam and Muslims lies in the influence of Gilbert's Franciscan vocation. According to Robson, the Franciscan Rule required that the words used by friars when they preached 'should be properly weighed and chaste: they should preach for the usefulness and edification of those present, announcing vices and virtues, punishment and glory',⁴ which is clearly evident in Gilbert's work. Humbert and Gilbert provide examples of the impact of context and ideology on individual perception, but there is a more general issue concerning the remaining three authors that I wish to explore, and that concerns the ambiguity they demonstrate in their treatment of Muslims and Islam.

While Roger Bacon, Ramon Llull and Riccoldo da Montecroce embraced Arab-Muslim sources, it is known that Humbert demonstrated a fear of philosophical study, believing it to be a distraction from a friar's core purpose.⁵ Unlike Humbert and Gilbert, Bacon relied less on the scriptures and traditional authorities to understand Islam, favouring instead Arab-Muslim works and the accounts of Western Christian travellers. His characterisation of Islam and Muslims was conventional, but his attitude toward Muslims was conflicted. In particular, he greatly admired the work of Arab-Muslim philosophers. He used their work to support his arguments against Islam, but doing so also provided a means for him to legitimately leverage the intellectual knowledge available from these sources for other purposes.

Llull experienced life surrounded by Muslims. For nine years following his conversion he learnt Arabic, studied the works of Arab scholars and Muslim theology, and developed a sophisticated philosophical system using these sources to examine the nature of religions. He was critical of the Dominican strategy, asserting it was necessary to build on what

Memorial Sermons on the Dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV', in Nicole Bériou and David. L. D'Avray, eds., *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 217-246.

⁴ Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 51. On this point, it is interesting that D'Avray and Tausche note that even though Gilbert's marriage sermons follow closely those of the French canon regular Jacques de Vitry (1180-1240), Gilbert presents a picture of marriage that is 'lighter and more optimistic': D. L. D'Avray and M. Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons in *Ad Status* Collections of the Central Middle Ages', in Nicole Bériou and David. L. D'Avray, eds., *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), p. 131.

⁵ Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), p. 46.

Muslims already believed rather than attacking their belief. Like his views on crusade and mission, Llull's perspectives on Islam and Muslims are ambivalent. He does not criticise Muslims, and while he presents a relatively honest portrayal of Islam in one text, he openly denigrates Muhammad in another. It is difficult to envision a satisfactory explanation for the diversity of Llull's perspectives, but, as noted in Chapter 3, Mastnak believes that it was due to a love of Muslims that he worked so hard to convert them.⁶

Riccoldo spent twelve years travelling in the Near East on pilgrimage and mission, during which time he studied Arabic and the Qur'an. He expressed deep admiration, even awe, for Arab-Muslim civilisation, its beauty and wealth, its learning, and its piety, as expressed through Muslim 'works of perfection'. But he then follows such praise with stinging criticism of Islam. Riccoldo also saw the outcomes of the fall of Acre and the misery of the Christians who were enslaved. As a result of this experience he clearly struggled to reconcile his conflicted feelings toward Islam and its followers, and to understand why God had let the Muslims triumph. Moreover, George-Tvrtkovic notes that it is through this struggle that Riccoldo reveals a willingness to move beyond, or complicate, 'traditional Christian responses to other religions'.⁷

Hamilton believes that Western Christians who lived on the frontier between Christian Europe and the Islamic world 'came to know Muslims as human beings, and feel affection and respect for some of them. Among those who felt this most keenly were scholars'.⁸ He observes that, paradoxically, it was at the time when crusading was at its height that Western European scholars came to develop respect for Islamic learning, and in a few cases also developed a respect for Islam, and the way in which Muslims practiced it, exemplified in the case of Riccoldo.⁹ Despite the fact that he later attempted to downplay his admiration for Muslim piety, the fact that Riccoldo observed and, for a time, honestly portrayed the

⁶ Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), pp. 218, 224-226. See also the section Crusade or Conversion in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁷ Rita George-Tvrtkovic, 'After The Fall: Riccoldo da Montecroce and Nicholas of Cusa on Religious Diversity', *Theological Studies*, 73 (2012), p. 662.

⁸ Bernard Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 7 (1997), p. 379.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

nature of Muslim praxis, is, George-Tvrtkovic argues, an indication of the potential power of inter-religious encounters.¹⁰

Riccoldo, Llull and Bacon actively pursued such encounters, which were not solely religious, but also cultural. Riccoldo acknowledges the value of direct experience in the *Book of the Pilgrimage*: 'Since we desired to nullify the perfidy of Mahomet, we intended to confront them in their capital and in the place of their [schools]. It was necessary for us to converse with them a good deal, and they received us as angels of God'.¹¹ Llull too considers it worthy to acknowledge his own direct contact with infidels: 'Since for a long time we have had dealings with unbelievers and have heard their false opinions and errors; and in order that they may give praise to our Lord God and enter the path of eternal salvation...wish to exert myself...in finding a new method and new reasons by which those in error might be shown the path to glory'.¹²

Bacon on the other hand is unlikely to have had direct contact with Muslims, and does not appear to have had a significant interest in the details of their religion. But as discussed in Chapter 1, there was increasing acceptance and assimilation of Greco-Arabic philosophy in Europe during the thirteenth century, which Timothy Noone sees as 'testimony to the desire on the part of the intellectuals...to assimilate and appropriate whatever was of value in the earlier pagan culture'.¹³ David D'Avray also remarks upon the enthusiasm with which

¹⁰ Rita George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout, 2012), p. 72.

¹¹ Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'The Book of Pilgrimage', in *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam*, trans. Rita George-Tvrtkovic (Turnhout, 2012), p. 210. My interpolation: see *ibid.*, n. 60. He also acknowledges his direct experience in *Against the Law of the Saracens*: see Riccoldo da Montecroce, 'Contra legem Saracenorum', in *Islam in the Crucible: Can it Pass the Test?*, trans. T. C. Pfotenhauer (English trans.) and Martin Luther (German trans.) (New Haven, 2002), p. 10.

¹² Ramon Llull, 'The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men', in Anthony Bonner, ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, trans. A. Bonner, Vol. 1 (Princeton, 1985), p. 110.

¹³ Cited in Philipp W. Rosemann, 'Philosophy and Theology in the Universities', in Carol Lansing and Edward D. English, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval World*, Blackwell Companions to European History (Oxford, 2013), p. 549, from Timothy B. Noone, 'Scholasticism', in Jorge J. E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone, eds., *A Companion to Philosophy of the Middle Ages* (Malden, 2003), pp. 55-64, quote at p. 60. Alauddin Samarrai also stresses that the influence of Greco-Arabic material that was becoming available in the thirteenth century cannot be exaggerated, and remarks upon the common religious and cultural roots upon which both Christianity and Islam were drawing without necessarily being aware of these commonalities: 'Arabs and Latins in the Middle Ages: Enemies, Partners and Scholars', in David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, eds., *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1999), pp. 141-142.

Franciscans embraced the works of Aristotle.¹⁴ One such Franciscan intellectual was Bacon. He believed that all philosophy had originated from unbelievers, and the acquisition of this knowledge was the dominant theme in his work. Clearly, the encounter with the Muslim world, either direct, or indirect, had a profound effect on all three authors.

I have not endeavoured to comprehensively account for all the factors which may have influenced the ways in which the authors perceived and responded to Islam and Muslims. Rather, I have simply attempted to demonstrate the impact context and ideology may have had. While differences in tone and emphasis are evident in the work of Humbert and Gilbert, which may be due to their different mendicant vocations, similarities and differences in the perceptions and responses of the authors cannot be accounted for simply on the basis of the order to which they belonged. The authors came from different backgrounds and lived different lives, and responded to the problem of Islam in varying ways; but there is one contextual factor which clearly differentiates Humbert and Gilbert from the other three authors, and that is the sources which informed their understanding of Islam, and ultimately influenced their perceptions.

Whereas Humbert and Gilbert relied on the scriptures and traditional sources to understand and respond to Islam, Bacon, Llull and Riccoldo represented a new generation of polemicists who sought to undermine Islam by utilising reason, natural law, Greco-Arabic philosophy and Muslim doctrine. They relied less on existing ideology than on facts, however much they selectively used and misrepresented them. But, ironically, it was their engagement with Arab-Muslim culture and society that led to their ambivalence toward the people whose religion they were seeking to malign.

The tension which resulted from this close engagement is particularly evident in the conflicting perceptions of Riccoldo and Llull. The personal context which appears to have

¹⁴ D. L. D'Avray, 'Some Franciscan Ideas About the Body', in David. L. D'Avray and Nicole Beriou, eds., *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 167-168. D'Avray also briefly discusses the influence of Aristotelian ethics on the work of the Italian Franciscan Servasanto da Faenza (c.1225-c.1300).

been most significant for them is their habitation of what are referred to as third spaces,¹⁵ where they had the opportunity for direct contact with Muslims, and in which they developed an understanding and respect for Muslim doctrine and practice, and Arab-Muslim culture. In their cases the third spaces were geographic in nature. However, I would like to propose the relevance of an additional type of third space, which perhaps explains Bacon's ambivalent attitudes towards Muslims, and that is an intellectual space in which differences in faith and ideology mattered less than ideas and knowledge, but similarly provided a means to foster understanding and respect between the two cultures.¹⁶

Southern referred to the thirteenth century as one of 'reason and hope', a period in which there was a more critical appraisal of Islam.¹⁷ On the other hand, Housley argues that this characterisation of the period is misguided; while there was an increasing volume of information being collected about Islam, this process was less motivated by objective interest 'than by a desire to learn what the *infideles* were doing right and by implication why *Christianitas* was failing'.¹⁸ I do not believe either conclusion is invalid, rather, it depends on what aspects and what sources are examined.

In terms of the particular aspect and sources examined in this study, Albrecht Classen's assertion that 'intolerance might well have been the birthmark of the early modern age,

¹⁵ See Daniel G. König, 'Medieval Western Perceptions of the Islamic World: From 'Active Othering' to the 'Voices in Between'', in David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History*, Vol. 4 (1200-1350) (Leiden, 2012), pp. 26-28, for a discussion on the influence of third spaces. König states that such spaces are 'characterised by blurring of boundaries constituted by ethnicity, culture, language, religion, etc.', in which interactions do 'not obliterate the parallel existence and force of boundaries and forms of cultural antagonism. It shows, however, that focussing on normative orders and the related stereotyped and often bipolar patterns of perception is not sufficient to provide a balanced view' of mutual perceptions. Jerold Frakes has recently commented on emerging interest in concepts such as third spaces in the study of medieval Western perceptions of Muslims: see n. 1 in the Conclusion of this thesis.

¹⁶ Norman Daniel does not use the term 'intellectual space', but comes to a similar conclusion in *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (London, 1975), pp. 297-298, in which he states that the translation of Arab scientific works in the Middle Ages represented a 'kind of [unacknowledged] religious accord between Arabs and Europeans'; '[t]hey reach across the religious barrier as well as the cultural'. The power of intellectual engagement with the Muslim world is exemplified in Jean Paul Tilmann's observation concerning the eminent Dominican scholar Albertus Magnus (c. 1200 – 1280) who 'seems more open to Moslem sources than to the writings of the Church Fathers': Jean Paul Tilmann, *An Appraisal of the Geographical Works of Albertus Magnus and his Contributions to Geographical Thought* (Ann Arbor, 1971), p. 176. A further example of how Western Christians attempted to accommodate individual Muslims, despite their religion, is the treatment by Dante of the Muslims Averroes, Avicenna and Saladin in his *Divine Comedy* (early 14th C); Dante places them in the first circle of Hell, or Limbo with the good pagans: Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy', pp. 386-387.

¹⁷ R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 34-66, esp. 34, 44.

¹⁸ Norman Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), p. 204.

whereas in the Middle Ages the relationship between 'self' and 'other' was still a matter of complex and open-ended negotiation' appears particularly pertinent.¹⁹ I believe that it was the process of questioning the relationship between themselves and the Muslim Other that produced the ambivalent responses of Bacon, Llull and Riccoldo toward Muslims. On this basis, there is perhaps good reason to characterise the second-half of the thirteenth century for mendicant friars as being a period of uncertainty and introspection, driven by their desire to engage with, and understand, the Muslim world, rather than simply their need to defeat it.

¹⁹ Albrecht Classen, 'Introduction: The Self, the Other and Everything in Between: Xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages', in A. Classen, ed., *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2002), p. xv. See also Kim Phillip's discussion on toleration and medieval perceptions of "otherness" in *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia, 2014), pp. 59-60.

Conclusion

I have attempted to identify the perceptions of Islam and Muslims of five mendicant friars who lived during the thirteenth century, a time of considerable tumult and challenge for Western Christians in their long confrontation with Islam. I have done so for two purposes. First, I wished to assess the extent to which these perceptions were perhaps informed by a normative ideology, which Norman Housley has asserted was extant at the time. Second, I wished to explore the relationship between the perceptions of each author and their individual context, in terms of social, cultural, political and personal factors which may have facilitated the production of those perceptions. My intention has not been to refute the work of other scholars, but rather to examine the perceptions of this religiously analogous, but otherwise diverse, group of authors in a way not provided for in other studies of Christian-Muslim relations, and demonstrate the value of an alternative approach to such studies.

This thesis has demonstrated that the ideological framework concerning Islam proposed by Housley does not adequately accommodate the variety of perceptions and responses of the authors who have been examined. Although all the authors appear to have accepted crusade as just war, Housley's framework does not account for the significant differences in the relative importance they placed on crusade and mission as alternative means to address the threat of Islam. Furthermore, only three authors made any reference to an association between Islam and the Antichrist, and such a link does not appear to have been a significant concern even for these authors. However, it is on the issue of the characterisation of Islam and its exponents where the most significant departures from Housley's proposition are to be found. Yes, images presented by the authors were largely inaccurate and stereotypical, and the authors did selectively use, or misrepresent, facts to support their arguments, but the images were not always lacking in humanity. The differences in the responses of the authors appear to reflect a generational change between Humbert of Romans and Gilbert of Tournai on one hand, and Roger Bacon, Ramon Llull and Riccoldo da Montecroce on the other, marked by differences in the sources and experiences they used to construct their arguments.

The introduction of Greco-Arabic philosophy into Western Europe, particularly through the emerging universities in the thirteenth century, coincided with increasing attention being given by the new mendicant orders to education, development of new means to refute Islam and new approaches to, and enthusiasm for missionary work. The expansion of Christendom in the Iberian Peninsula, and missionary work in North Africa and the East exposed the friars to increasing contact with real Muslims and their societies. The combination of these factors provided the Dominican and Franciscan friars not only with new insights into Islam, but also brought them into contact with other manifestations of Arab-Muslim culture. This intellectual and experiential engagement, rather than eliciting judgements that were overall hostile, appears to have resulted in ambivalence, particularly toward Muslims, as the friars attempted to reconcile new insights into Islam and Muslims with tradition and orthodoxy. It highlights not just the power of inter-religious encounter identified by Rita George-Tvrtkovic, but of ethnic and cultural interaction more generally - an area of inquiry which appears to be of increasing interest to scholars examining issues concerning the Muslim Other during the medieval period.¹

In concluding, I would like to suggest three issues arising from this study which warrant further attention from scholars. First, through necessity this study has been limited to a small number of authors. A larger sample of authors, and associated texts would, obviously, help to confirm the influence of Arab-Muslim sources and experiential engagement in giving rise to more complex and nuanced intercultural perceptions among mendicant friars during the thirteenth century. Second, while I have identified engagement with Greco-Arabic philosophy as a factor that may have influenced the way mendicants perceived Islam and Muslims, I have not attempted to examine its specific impact, particularly that of Aristotelean naturalism. This too might be a productive area for future research. Finally, consideration should be given to smaller-scale macro-historical investigation utilising the approach proposed by Daniel König as a means by which historians can gain greater understanding of the evident complexities of Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle Ages.

¹ Jerold C. Frakes, 'Foreword', in J. C. Frakes, ed., *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse* (New York, 2011), p. xiii. In his recent book, Frakes observes that scholars are beginning to attempt to view medieval literature concerning the Muslim Other from the perspective of conceptions of cultural interaction and exchange which have been developed by the post-colonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha. The concepts which are explored by Bhabha include mimicry, interstice, hybridity, liminality and third spaces, and are the subject of his book, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon, 1994).

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